This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

BXE
~~1147e~~

THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

POLYBIUS.

VOL. II.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.

THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

POLYBIUS,

TRANSLATED FROM THE GREEK

BY MR. HAMPTON.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

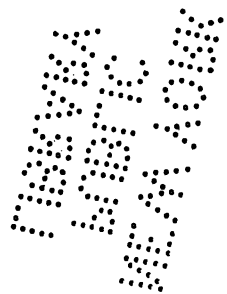
IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR J. JOHNSON; WILKIE AND ROBINSON;
J. WALKER; R. LEA; J. RICHARDSON; AND
J. FAULDER.

1809.



TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

ROBERT LORD HENLEY,

BARON OF GRAINGE,

LORD HIGH CHANCELLOR OF GREAT BRITAIN.

MY LORD,

WHEN the following Translation was first sent abroad, I endeavoured not to shelter it under any illustrious name. It was more agreeable to my sentiments, as it seemed to be more consistent also with candour and with justice, that it should find its way through the public favour to some particular patron, than that a patron, how great soever, should impose it by his single sanction on the public. The hopes, which I at that time entertained, are now fully answered; and your Lordship's approbation has stamped the last authority upon the general voice.

But not content with approving only, your Lordship has been pleased to interest in some degree your own name likewise in the future fortune of my work; by permitting me to address this new edition of it to your more immediate favour and protection. As this is an indulgence,

which must on my part always demand the most grateful acknowledgements, so may I not also presume to add, that it will not perhaps detract even from your own dignity or praise, that your Lordship, while invested with the honours, and surrounded by the cares, that belong to the first and most important of all civil offices, withdrew not your attention from those studies, which, in every polished age and country, have been regarded as the source of public wisdom as well as virtue, and as the ornament of social life.

I am,

MY LORD,

your lordship's most obliged,

and most humble servant,

JAMES HAMPTON.

THE

PREFACE.

AMONG all the historians of antiquity, whose works have been judged worthy of the admiration or regard of later times, there is none perhaps so little known as the author who is now offered to the public. The words, grave, judicious, excellent, are indeed transmitted from pen to pen, and fill the mouth of every critic. But though the name of Polybius be thus still accompanied with some mark of respect and honour, his real character has remained almost unnoticed; and his writings, even though confessed to be the object of esteem and praise, by degrees have fallen under that kind of neglect and general disregard, which usually foreruns oblivion.

It may be useful, therefore, to consider some of the chief, among the causes, that have concurred to produce so perverse an accident, before we attempt to lead the reader into a closer view of those many excellencies that are peculiar to the following history, and which drew towards it the attention of the wise and learned, in the enlightened times of Greece and Rome.

Amidst all the advantages, which the moderns are by many supposed to have gained against the ancients, with respect to the points of useful knowledge, and the

enlargement of all true and solid science, it cannot but be allowed that, in the art of writing, the latter still maintain their rank unrivalled; and that the graces and the charms, the exactness, strength, and energy, which make severally the character of their most perfect compositions, are in vain sought for in the productions of the present age. Those, therefore, that take into their hands the remains of any celebrated name either of Greece or Rome, are in the first place accustomed to expect, if not a faultless work, yet some display at least of that superiority, which the warmest emulation has not yet been able to exceed; some beamings of those excellencies, which strike and captivate the mind, and render irresistible the words of wisdom, when delivered from the lips of beauty. It is not, therefore, judged sufficient, that the matter be grave and weighty; unless the manner also be enchanting. In vain are things disposed in order, and words made expressive of the sense. We demand likewise an arrangement that may please the fancy; and a harmony that may fill the ear. Or, on the other hand, if the style be such as rejects the embellishments of art, yet let us find in it at least that full and close conciseness, that commanding dignity, that smooth and pure simplicity, in a word, those naked graces, which outshine all ornament.

Such are the expectations of every reader, who has gained a taste sufficient to discern, that these beauties are in fact diffused through all the finished pieces of antiquity. For though even among the ancients, there were as many different styles as authors, yet nature, and sound criticism, which drew its rules from nature, referred them all to two or three general kinds, of which

each had its established laws; which, while they served to instruct the writer in his art, afforded likewise a sure criterion by which his works were either censured or approved. Was it the purpose of an author to recite past events, or convey lessons of instruction, in a language simple and unadorned? It was demanded by these laws, that his style should be concise and pure; that the sentiment and diction should be closely joined; and no word admitted that did not add somewhat to the sense; that through the whole should be found a certain air of ease and freedom, mixed, however, with strength and dignity; and that, void of all appearance of study and of art, he should strive to make even negligence itself alluring. If, on the contrary, his desire was to excel in the florid kind, the same laws required, that the simple charms of nature should be adorned with all the elegance and pomp of art; that splendid images should flatter and delude the fancy; that the diction should be noble, polite, and brilliant; that every word should be dressed in smiles; and that the periods should be measured with the nicest care; be joined together in the softest bands of harmony; and flow intermingled, without obstacle or pause. Lastly, with respect to that likewise which was called the intermediate kind of composition, these laws were careful also to prescribe the proper temperament, in which the beauties of the former two should meet and be united; and to adjust the mixture of the graceful and austere, the artificial and the simple, in such exact proportion, that the one never should prevail against the other, but both govern through the whole with a kind of mingled sway.

Now with regard to the author of the following work, it must freely be acknowledged that, instead of having

gained any approved degree of excellence in either of these established modes of composition, he, on the contrary, revolts alike against the laws of all. Instead of charms that might allure, an energy that might command, or flowing softness that might carry with it the attention of the reader, we meet at every step some deformity which excites disgust, some coldness which offends, some obstacles which expose our patience to the severest proof. Instead of elegant simplicity, we find in every part a rustic coarseness; instead of a neat and clear conciseness, a redundance of impure expression; instead of an assemblage of kindred images, allusions remote and forced; and, in the place of a full, majestic, and continued harmony, sounds that fatigue and wound the ear, periods broken and transversed. It cannot, therefore, be greatly wondered at that many, even among the warm admirers of antiquity, should have been discouraged from perusing writings which are void of all the charms of nature and of art; which display neither elegance nor strength; neither ease nor dignity; simplicity nor majesty; but are, in every part, disfigured, either by tasteless and ill-sorted ornaments, or a negligence that is wholly destitute of grace.

But, besides the utter want of all those beauties that reign through the compositions of the other celebrated ancients, there is also in Polybius one eminent vice, which must be allowed to have been not less the cause than that now mentioned, of the almost general disregard to which his works have been condemned. This is the obscurity which is found, as we may say, in every page through all the following history. For it is not that obscurity which springs solely from those ancient manners, customs, science, discipline, which, though

they were familiar to the times in which the author wrote, are unknown to the present age. Nor is it that only, on the other hand, which is caused by the ravages of years; that which never fails to attend a mangled or corrupted text. But it is such, as may well be termed a congenial and inbred obscurity; an obscurity which results from complicated and embarrassed sense; from periods disordered and transposed; from useless expletives; and from words which are either destitute of any signification, or employed in one so different from their own, that even those who are most conversant in the language, are oftentimes entangled in a maze of doubt and intricacy, from which, after all their efforts, they are never able to get free.

Some other causes of lighter moment might be mentioned, as having in part contributed to produce the effect of which we are speaking *. But these are the

* Among these, we may just take notice of an opinion which has prevailed with many, that the following history, with respect both to the matter which it contains, and the manner also in which the work is executed, tends principally to promote the improvement of that knowledge which relates to war, and cannot even easily be understood, but by those only who have passed their life in camps. This prejudice, if it drew not its beginning, seems, however, to have been chiefly propagated from the pains of a lively Frenchman, who some years ago presented the author to the public in all the pomp of military dress; and, under the weight of an enlarged and bulky comment, in which the sentiment now mentioned is every where industriously repeated and enforced, stifled the merit of a judicious and sensible translation. But his profession, it seems, was that of arms; and most admirably does self-love perform its part. For being first persuaded that, among all the objects of human knowledge and inquiry, there was none more noble and important than the art in which himself was skilled, he boldly mistakes, for the characteristical distinction in the original, that which was only an incidental ex-

principal, and most important. And, indeed, to say the truth, how reasonable must it be thought that such an author should at once be abandoned to oblivion or contempt; unless, perhaps, there should be found under

cellence; and from thence forms, as he expresses it, the grand design of raising, upon those materials that were before him, a complete military structure; as if the purpose of this great historian had been simply to compose a body of tactics, or a treatise on the stratagems of war; and not rather to illustrate and explain the most sublime of all the subjects of civil science, which the annals of mankind can boast; to show, "from what causes, and through what kind of government, almost the whole habitable world, in less than the course of fifty-three years, was reduced beneath the Roman yoke." But indeed the whole weakness and absurdity of this conceit will appear so manifest from the very first pages of the history, that it is not necessary to employ in this place any greater pains to expose it. I shall, therefore, only add, with respect to the opinion above-mentioned, that first, it is by no means in general true, as the favourers of this opinion are ever ready to affirm, that the description of sieges and of battles, as they occur in ancient authors, cannot easily be understood, but by those only who have passed their life in camps. If, indeed, the business that is here required were to weigh the difficulties, and to decide concerning the expediency or the rashness, of any military enterprise; to applaud, or to condemn, the disposition of an army in the field; to display the prudence, or to detect the errors, of a general; this would doubtless be a province which every man of letters would most willingly resign, to those whose studies and experience had qualified them in a more peculiar manner to be judges in it. But when the task, as in reading or translating, is simply to apprehend the meaning of the terms in any ancient and dead language, it is clear that this can be only done, and that in most cases it has been done effectually, by surveying the analogy of the language, examining well the context, and tracing all the various significations, in which the same terms are used by different writers. Secondly, these descriptions, as they are more full and perfect, are more perspicuous also in Polybius, than those that are found in other writers. For as he had been himself employed in the exercise of

this rough covering some delicious kind of fruit; some excellences which may be esteemed a more than equal counterpoise to his defects. And this is that which we shall now consider.

In all the various history of that great people, whose power, from small contemptible beginnings, was by degrees extended to the limits of the world, and whose virtue, policy, and laws, are still respected and approved, if there be any part more useful, more important, and more illustrious than the rest, it is, beyond all doubt, that very period which furnished the materials of the following work. A period not weakened and deformed by senseless fictions, the offspring of wild vanity, and impure tradition; but resting on the grounds of solid truth, and unsuspected testimony. A period which displays this celebrated empire, not struggling

arms, and had joined, to a consummate skill, a long experience likewise in the art of war, he from thence was able to relate all military events with clearness and precision; to assign to every term its own proper place and peculiar sense; and to avoid that intricacy in which the historians, who have transmitted to us an account of the Roman wars, are frequently intangled. In the last place we may remark, that the intention of the author in that very comment of which we have been speaking was not, as is commonly supposed, to illustrate or remove the difficulties of the original, but chiefly to accommodate to his own favourite system the battles which are there described; and to make, as himself declares, "Polybius more subservient to the comment, than the comment to Polybius." From hence, therefore, has it happened, as it might indeed most reasonably be expected, and as every candid and judicious reader will be ready to acknowledge, that, in the execution of this bold design, numberless passages are tortured, misunderstood, and misapplied; and that even the prints which are added in the work are, in many important points, defective; and in many also repugnant to the plain expressions of the text.

with the dangers and the ills of feeble infancy, nor tottering under the oppressive weight of age; but firm in manly strength, mature in vigour, active, ardent, uncontrolled, invincible. In the scene here presented to us we are not, on the one hand, led to view the momentary wars, the precarious and unmeditated conquests, the intestine feuds and jealousies, the rage and madness of a half-instructed, and half-policied people, rough and savage in their manners, virtuous to the extreme, and exulting in a licentious and ungovernable freedom. Nor is it, on the other hand, the sad picture of a state, corrupted and dispirited through the soft arts of luxury, disgraced by vices, and enslaved to tyrants. The annals of this period offer a far nobler spectacle; a government arrived at perfect growth, and flourishing in the fairest form; a steady, deep, extensive, and foreseeing policy; a people, joined together by great and generous sentiments, even more than by the ties of common interest; a sovereign power, exerted solely to maintain the general good; a liberty restrained by reason, and submissive to the authority of laws.

A state thus framed, and thus conducted, could not long remain insensible of its own inherent strength and force. From this time, therefore, it seemed to be a matter of small moment and importance to the Romans that they should be able effectually to employ their talents and their power to maintain their empire in tranquillity and dignity, to afford security to their allies, and hold all the neighbouring states under due restraint. Seated as it were upon a strong and lofty eminence, they begin now to extend their views even to countries the most remote; and resolve to bend the most haughty and most powerful kingdoms to their laws. The con-

quest of the world was judged to be an easy task to a people whose expectations of success were not founded upon their armies, however strong and numerous, nor even upon their military skill and discipline, however perfect and accomplished; but sprung solely from the exertion of a steady wisdom, and sedate discernment; from a foresight which had weighed all difficulties; from regular designs, whose joint dependence was of itself sufficient to carry them into execution; from vigorous counsels, which disdained resistance; and from a firmness which derided ill success, and rose superior to the heaviest strokes of fortune. Nor did the event in any point deceive their hopes. The most skilful, dexterous, and undaunted general of all that the world had seen, in vain leads his army from the extreme boundaries of Spain, traverses the Pyrenæans and the Alps, and falls, like thunder, upon Italy. Battle after battle lost, the bravest of the legions slain, the country wasted and destroyed, provinces revolting or subdued, in vain threaten the extinction of the name of Rome. The Romans, conscious still of their superior force, and standing firm against misfortune, are persuaded that, unless themselves first lose all hope, their country never can be lost. Their wounds, though deep and bleeding, instead of draining from the members all their vital strength, serve only to call forth new streams of vigour from the heart. Their policy, their manners, the frame itself of the republic, all join to afford resources inexhaustible, and which seem even to be multiplied by their defeats. Thus armed, and thus supported, what wonder was it that, in the end, they should prevail against an enemy whose very government itself, instead of being fortified with the like advantages, was such as baffled even the fortune and the skill of their own en-

terprising and triumphant general, and rendered useless all his victories. Annibal, enfeebled by success, exhausted by continual conquest, and in vain exerting his utmost efforts to subdue a people who rose with redoubled strength from every fall, was at last forced to return, and employ all his courage and abilities to rescue his own proper country from that destruction with which he had so lately threatened Rome. But what courage, what abilities, could prolong the existence of an empire, destitute of all internal force, and which carried in its bosom the immediate causes of decay and dissolution? The haughty Carthage, the tyrant of Spain and Afric, the sovereign mistress of commerce and the sea, bends her neck to the yoke; and from this time leaves full leisure to the Romans to pursue, step by step, the traces of their first design; to remove each obstacle as they advanced; to divide, unite, oppose, and counterbalance, the interests and the strength of the most formidable states, till they all became alike incapable of resisting, and were in turn compelled to feel and to acknowledge that they had no laws left, no counsels, customs, manners, policy, but the sole will of this invincible and wise republic *.

* It seemed unnecessary to enter here into any more circumstantial or particular detail of the design and limits of the history, or to enumerate singly all the events which it contained; not only because the author himself has given a very distinct and clear account both of the general form and nature of his undertaking, and of the distribution and the order of its several parts; but because it has happened likewise that of the whole the original work, which was extended to the number of forty books, five only have been rescued from the hand of time. Yet these, as they are come to us entire, so are they perfect also with respect to the subjects of which they treat; and will, if I mistake not, fully exemplify all that is affirmed concerning the character and peculiar talents of the author.

Such were the times in which Polybius lived; and such the spectacle which he chose to illustrate in his writings. A spectacle, transcending all that can be offered to our view, I do not say in the rude age of Rome, but in those admired and boasted annals likewise, which belong to the later periods of this great empire; as much as disorder is excelled by union; effeminate baseness, by heroic bravery; corrupted manners, by disinterested virtue; vile submission, by a generous and manly love of liberty; or the little arts of jealous tyrants and ambitious ministers, temporary shifts, and expedients of a day, by that enlarged and powerful policy, which looks forwards to all future time, embraces every object, and attracts within the circle of its system every possible event.

As the subject, therefore, is thus great and interesting, let us, in the next place, examine likewise, whether the work itself be not distinguished also by some peculiar characters of excellence that raise it above other histories, and which serve clearly to illustrate and enforce the dignity and whole importance of the events of which it treats.

If we consider first, what kind of talents, genius, and abilities, should be required to display in the fullest light the wonders of so august a scene, and to point out distinctly, to the present and to future times, all the advantages that might be drawn from a period thus pregnant with instruction, it will at once be obvious to remark, that such a work must very far exceed the highest reach of any rhetorician, however eloquent and learned, or any sophist, however penetrating and acute; and could only be successfully performed by one whose knowledge of mankind, and long practice in the affairs

of government, joined to an habitual and close attention to the designs, the workings, and effects of policy, had enabled him to lift up the veil, and to view at leisure the secret springs that actuated, and pushed forwards, all the great machine; by one whose fortunes and condition had opened to him the means of being perfectly instructed and informed; by one who had been himself a witness to the events which he relates, or had received his accounts at least from those that were; by one whom credulity, or vanity, never could incline to disgrace the truth by splendid miracles, and deform fact by fiction; and lastly, by one whose natural love of virtue, and consciousness of the importance of the trust in which he had engaged, should force his own passions, humour, interest, to fall back and to disappear, and substitute in their place an exactness, candour, and fidelity, superior to reproach or censure, and exempt from all suspicion.

Such must be the writer to whose testimony we should yield a full assent, to whose authority we should submit, and whose wisdom we should blindly trust to guide us, through the long labyrinth of causes and events, into a clear and comprehensive view of the motions, advancement, and whole progress, of the Roman greatness; and such, in every point, was that historian whose character we are here endeavouring to describe. Illustrious by his birth, and not less distinguished by the greatness of his sentiments, the wisdom of his counsels, his skill in war, his steady virtue, and sincere attachment to the interests of his country, he began to be considered, even in early age, as the chief support of that republic in whose firmness were deposited the small remains of Grecian liberty. As on the one hand, therefore, his rank, and his abilities, with the important

parts which he sustained in every public measure and debate, disclosed to him all the various scenes of government; so the condition also of the times, and his earnest zeal for the general good, urged him, on the other hand, to call forth every talent into action; to survey with the nicest care the present and past fortunes of his country; to trace backwards every step by which subjection had advanced towards them in the place of glory; and to review, to weigh, and to examine, the designs, effects, and influence, of that artful and ambitious policy which, after having conquered or deluded so many different nations, had at last triumphed likewise over Greece, and, under the specious pretence of restoring every city to independency and freedom, had, in reality, infolded all alike in silken fetters, to be loosened, or strained close, as occasion should demand.

Such talents, such experience, and such researches, might doubtless have delayed, though not averted, the last fatal stroke, which not long afterwards completed the destruction of the Achæans, and of Greece. But the Romans, from whose attention the most distant danger never could escape, made haste to deprive a people, whom they had destined to be slaves, of the assistance and support of every citizen whose courage, or abilities, seemed likely to spread wide a contagious spirit, and, together with the love of freedom, to inspire also by degrees a strength sufficient to shake off the yoke.

This banishment, which was decreed in common to all the inhabitants of Peloponnesus, whose virtue was become their crime, as it was honourable to Polybius, proved highly beneficial likewise to all future times. Torn by violence from the service of his country, and

fixed to a long abode in that great city, which was the fountain of all the counsels that directed and sustained the Roman empire, he had now both leisure and the means, to draw together the instruction that was requisite, for carrying into execution the design which he had formed; to compare observation and conjecture with fact and certainty; to copy the detail of all great events from authentic monuments, and from the memoirs of those illustrious persons, who had been the chief actors in the scene; to view closely, and without disguise, the manners, temper, inclinations, and whole conduct of a people, who had thus forced the most powerful kingdoms to receive their laws; to inspect all the movements of that regulated wisdom which had saved their state from imminent ruin; and to trace to their sources those internal springs of strength and vigour which had nourished and enlarged its growth; in a word, to compose that history which, piercing through the clouds of ignorance and error, assigned to every incident its own genuine motive; unfolded the most complicated causes; and, by joining to an exact and accurate description of wars, embassies, and treaties, a full and distinct display of the counsels, maxims, laws, the prudence, constancy, and courage, with the whole military and domestic discipline that were peculiar to the Romans, made it manifest to all mankind that the greatness to which this people had now raised their empire was by no means the work of fortune, or the effect of a bold and enterprising rashness; but the necessary and mature result of strenuous efforts and regular designs, conducted by a firm and penetrating policy, which no precautions could elude, and no force was able to subdue.

In discharging a task of so great extent and difficulty,

and of such vast importance likewise in its use, it cannot surely be thought astonishing or strange that this wise historian should have been diverted, or withheld, from paying a due attention to the embellishments of art, and charms of eloquence. But whatever censure may be thrown upon him for having slighted all those graces, which would doubtless have diffused some lustre through his work, it must be acknowledged, on the other hand, that, together with them, he has rejected likewise all the false, though specious, ornaments which disgrace the compositions even of the most esteemed and wisest ancients. The desire to strike and surprise, to please and captivate, diversified perhaps according to the different talents of the writer, has, in all times, covered history with a delusive glare, which serves only to mislead us from that knowledge which is the object of our search. Hence that unnatural mixture of record with tradition, truth with fable, and the long train of brilliant wonders which are scattered through the annals of almost every age, and every people. Hence those discourses and harangues which, having been forged and moulded in the shade of contemplative and obscure retirement, confound all distinctions of men, characters, and times. Hence likewise all the laboured pageantry, the adventitious and far-sought circumstances which are brought to swell description, and to adorn and dignify the scene; to fill the mind with admiration; to melt into compassion; or to subdue by terror. Hence lastly, that ambitious care which is discovered even in the gravest writers; who, not content with having copied the bare features of the original that was before them, like painters, call forth all their skill to give also a finishing to the piece; and join, to the resemblance

that is found in nature, those strokes which enlarge and heighten each deformity, or spread a fuller brightness over every beauty. But to the author, whose work we are now considering, it was reserved as his peculiar praise, to have first discerned, that history, if she would prove a secure and useful guide, must walk hand in hand with life; and that instruction, whether moral or political, was never to be fixed upon the weak foundation of imaginary facts. It is not, therefore, the writer, whom we view before us, eager of applause, and impatient to draw from us an admiration of his art, in having decked the truth in a splendid dress, and thrown into her train a gay assemblage of well-fancied, possible events. But it is the statesman, the general, the philosopher, who speaks to us, as in his closet, in familiar language; recounts simply all that was transacted; confirms fact by testimony; and enables us to derive an easy and immediate profit likewise from the prudence or misconduct of past times, by reflections deep and solid, and such as our own reason cannot but approve, when they are gently enforced upon us, as by the authority of a parent, or urged with the fond affection of a friend.

How steadily indeed must we revere, and how willingly attend to, the lessons of a man whose probity shines out in every part, even far more conspicuous than his wisdom. Blinded by no interest, nor seduced by any mistaken zeal, as he never is himself deceived, so neither does he attempt to lead others into error. Unmoved by the ill fate of Greece, and his own loss of friends and dignity, he describes even those events, which seldom fail to awaken some resentment, grief, or jealous hatred, with all the coldness of an unconcerned

spectator; and pays due homage, though unmixed with adulation, to those great qualities which had raised the structure of the Roman glory upon the ruins of his own degenerate country. Hence it is that we discern, even upon the slightest view, a certain candour and sincerity spread through his work, which we in vain should hope to find in other writers; a candour, which never hides the faults of friends, nor tarnishes the virtues of an enemy; a candour, which presents all objects in their naked state, free from the disguise of passion; and which weighs contending testimonies in an equal scale; in a word, a candour which, like an artless honesty of face, carries even in its air and first appearance those strong proofs of genuine and unfeigned simplicity which irresistibly command our approbation, and engage our favour. Such was the author, who, when living, was the friend, the companion, and instructor, of the generous and heroic Scipio; and whose writings, in a later age, were the earnest study, and chief consolation also, of the wise and virtuous Brutus.

It remains, that I now speak a word or two concerning the translation; not to mislead the opinion, or prevent the judgement, of the reader; but simply to inform him what it is that he is chiefly to expect from my own endeavours in the following work.

There are two things, unconnected and distinct, which are demanded always of translators; that they understand well the text, and render it also well. With regard to the first of these, in what degree I may have been exempt from errors, must be wholly left to others to determine. I can only say, that I have spared no pains to arrive at a full and entire conception of the sense; by tracing the author closely through his own

peculiar turn and use of sentiments and language; by comparing different texts; consulting different versions; and by weighing all the explanations and corrections that have occasionally been proposed.

But in a task of this kind, barely to understand the meaning of an author, though it often may require indeed both patience and activity, is by much the least part of the toil. To render every word by an equivalent expression, and every sentence in the same just measure; to preserve each different character of sentiment and phrase; and to delineate, stroke by stroke, the movements of the mind or heart; these are the difficulties, in translating, that demand an attention, time, and pains, which never can be fully known, but by those alone who have made the trial. As these difficulties, however, are either slighter, or more hard to be surmounted, according to the several stamps of excellence, and the various modes of beauty, that are peculiar to the originals, it must be acknowledged that, in the work of the author who is now before us, they are by no means such as should discourage any one from attempting to give a perfect copy of it in a different language. For there are here no beauties whose spirit might be lost in being transfused; no force, or elegance, or just propriety, that demand an exact similitude of corresponding terms; no flowing, regulated numbers, whose harmony can only be preserved by the same fixed accents and chosen sounds; no painting of the passions, in which even the smallest change would mar the likeness, and destroy all the beauty of the piece. But, on the other hand, the very want of these excellencies, while it freed me from a heavy and laborious duty, at the same time imposed a task upon me, not less difficult

than the other; the task of veiling those deformities that might have raised disgust; and of clothing the author, not in any ostentatious or splendid habit, but in a dress which, though suitable in every part to his own deportment, air, and character, might be also such as should draw towards him the attention and the favour of the present age. With this view I have not scrupled to endeavour through the whole, as well by changing sometimes the expression, as by breaking the order likewise of the sentences, to soften what appeared too harsh, and to give a modest polish to all that was found too rough. In a word, my chief care and pains, after the task of reporting faithfully the sense, have been employed to spread one simple, grave, and sober colouring over all the work; to render the diction strong, expressive, even, and correct; and to give to the periods a roundness, a stability, and varied cadence. If this part, therefore, of the labour should be judged to have been executed with success, it is hoped that any omissions, or mistakes, of lighter moment, may more readily obtain excuse.

I shall only add, that when I first engaged in this work many years ago, my intention was, to have joined with the translation such observations and remarks as might have served not only to explain the difficulties, but to illustrate also and enforce the strong sense and wise reflections that are spread through all the following history; to have cleared the obscurity which arises oftentimes from remote allusions, or an imperfect detail of facts; to have opened those peculiarities of customs and of manners which, whenever they occur, raise doubt and hesitation in the unlearned reader; to have pointed out the uses, or defects, of various institutions,

in religion, laws, and government; and, above all the rest, to have traced, step by step, the advancement of the Roman greatness; to have called back also to the scene the illustrious times of Greece, and compared the glory of that country with its last decline; and, in a word, to have displayed in one entire and connected view, the whole conduct, and the various fortunes of those great nations, whose sages, and whose heroes, seen to have soared above the ordinary limits of humanity; and whose story, while it instructs and warms, should teach us also to spurn away those narrow politics, and that base depravity, which have fixed shackles upon our own contracted wisdom and feeble virtue. Such was my design; the first draught of which was nearly finished, and materials collected in large abundance for the whole. But various accidents from time to time obstructed the progress of it; and I have now neither leisure nor inclination to complete it. Yet as I had gone through the most difficult and irksome, as well as the most useful part likewise of the whole performance, I was not willing entirely to suppress it. For I flatter myself that the public will owe me some acknowledgement if this translation should prove the means of spreading into many hands a treasure of inestimable value, which the roughness and inelegance, and numerous difficulties that occur, both in the language, and construction, and sense of the original, have hitherto confined to a few. If this, indeed, should be the event, I neither shall regret the labour which the one part of the work has cost me, nor grieve for the disappointment in the other; but shall think my pains well rewarded in having thus been able to bring into the open light a merit which had long languished in ob-

scurity; and to substitute, in the place, perhaps, of studies either trifling or pernicious, the knowledge of an author whose writings, though broken and imperfect, not only contain the fullest lessons of civil prudence, but also every where abound with strong incitements to the practice of all those social virtues which endear men to themselves, and render them useful citizens to their country.

THE

GENERAL HISTORY

OF

POLYBIUS.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

CHAPTER I.

WE showed, in the preceding book, what were the causes of the second war between the Carthaginians and Romans, and what the manner in which Annibal entered Italy; and recounted also the several combats that ensued, to the battle that was fought at last near the city of Cannæ, upon the river Aufidus. We now go on to describe the affairs of Greece that were transacted during the same period, and in the course of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad; but shall first, in few words, remind the reader of the things that were mentioned by us on the subject of this country in the second of our introductory books, and more especially of that which we there related concerning the fortunes

and condition of the Achæan republic; because this state, within the compass of our own times, and of those which immediately preceded, has grown to a very amazing height of strength and greatness.

Beginning then from Tisamenes, one of the children of Orestes, we remarked, that the descendants of that prince reigned after him in Achaia, in direct succession down to Ogyges. That afterwards, the Achæans changed their government to a democracy, which was instituted with great skill and wisdom; and that this establishment was broken by the arts of the kings of Macedon, and the people all dispersed into separate and independent towns and villages. We then showed the time and manner in which they began again to unite together; and what were the cities which associated themselves the first into the new confederacy. We also explained at large the measures that were employed, and the motives that were used, to draw the other cities to this union; and to engage by degrees the whole people of Peloponnesus to embrace the same common appellation, the same laws, and the same single government. After this general view of the design, we then related in their order, though in few words, the chief transactions that succeeded, to the final overthrow and flight of Cleomenes, king of Lacedæmon. And having thus given a summary account, in the way of an introduction to our history, of the events that happened in the world to the time in which Antigonus, Ptolemy,

and Seleucus, all died together, we then promised to go on to the commencement of our history, and to begin with those transactions that were the next in order to the deaths of those three princes, and to the events which we had last related.

This period seemed to be, on many accounts, the best that I could choose for the beginning of my work. For first, as the memoirs of Aratus are here concluded, that which I shall now relate concerning the affairs of Greece, may be considered as a regular and close continuation of his history. In the next place, the times which now succeed, and which fall within the limits of this work, are in part the very times in which we ourselves have lived, and partly those of our immediate ancestors. And from hence it happens that the things which I have undertaken to describe, are either those which I myself have seen, or such as I have received from men that were eye-witnesses of them. For in case that I had gone back to a more early period, and borrowed my accounts from the report of persons who themselves had only heard them before from others, as it would scarcely have been possible that I should myself be able to discern the true state of the things that were then transacted, so neither could I have written any thing concerning them with sufficient confidence. Another, and indeed the strongest motive, by which I was inclined to choose this æra, was, that, about this time, fortune had entirely changed the face of things in all the countries of the world at once. For it was now that

Philip, the son of Demetrius, before he had arrived at perfect age, took possession of the Macedonian kingdom; and that Achæus, who was sent to govern the country on this side of mount Taurus, assumed the rank and power of a sovereign prince. At the same time it happened that Antiochus, surnamed the Great, who was also extremely young, was raised to the throne of Syria, in the place of his brother Seleucus, who had died not long before; that Ariarathes obtained the sovereignty of Cappadocia; and Ptolemy Philopator that of Ægypt; that Lycurgus was elected king of Lacedæmon; and lastly, that Annibal was invested by the Carthaginians with the command of their armies, and the government of the affairs of Spain, as we have before related.

Thus, then, as the supreme dominion had fallen, in every state, into the hands of new kings and masters, it was reasonable to expect that a change so general must give birth to new commotions. For this naturally happens in such circumstances; nor did it fail now to happen. The Carthaginians and the Romans were soon engaged in the war which we have already in part described. At the same time Antiochus and Ptolemy contended together for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria. And Philip also, in conjunction with the Achæans, turned his arms against the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians. The causes of this last war were those which I am now going to relate.

The Ætolians had been long dissatisfied, that

they were forced to live in peace, and at their own expense; accustomed, as they had always been, to subsist upon the plunder of their neighbours, and slaves by nature to an uncontrolled and restless appetite, which both multiplied their wants, and urged them on to rapine, as the only means by which they could be gratified; so that they lived the life of wild beasts of prey, invading every thing within their reach, and making no distinction between friends and enemies. During the life-time, however, of Antigonus, their apprehension of the Macedonians kept them quiet. But no sooner was this prince dead, than, despising the tender age of Philip who succeeded, they began earnestly to seek for some pretence upon which they might enter Peloponnesus with an army. For as this province had, in former times, been the usual scene of all their violence and rapine, so they were persuaded that their strength in arms was far superior also to that of the Achæans. While they were revolving this project in their minds, chance itself conspired with their design, and supplied the following means to carry it into execution.

A certain young man, named Dorimachus, full of the fire and eager spirit of his country, a native of Trichonion, and the son of that Nicostratus who, in defiance of the laws of nations, attacked the Bœotians by surprise, when they were met together in their general assembly, was about this time sent in the name of the republic to Phigalea, a city of Peloponnesus, which stood upon the confines of

Messenia, and was associated to the Ætolian government; to secure, as it was then pretended, the city and the neighbouring district. But the true design of his commission was, that he should carefully attend to all that passed in Peloponnesus. During the time of his continuance in this city, being pressed by the importunity of some pirates who resorted to him, and not able to supply them with the means of any lawful plunder, because the general peace was still subsisting, which Antigonus had established throughout all Greece, he at last permitted them to steal away the cattle of the Messenians, who were at that time the allies and friends of his own republic. These men at first confined their robberies to the extreme borders of the province, and to the herds of cattle that were found in pasture there. But, in a short time afterwards, their insolence was raised to so great a height that they advanced far within the country, and forced their entrance into the houses likewise; making their attack by night, when the people were under no suspicion, or fear of danger. The Messenians, incensed by these proceedings, deputed some persons to Dorimachus, to demand redress. Dorimachus, who was by no means willing to condemn a practice which not only enriched the men that were acting under his authority, but brought great advantage also to himself, who received a due proportion of all the booty that was taken, for some time paid no regard to these remonstrances. But when the outrages were still continued, and the deputa-

tions also became more frequent than before, he at last declared that he would go in person to Messene, and there render public justice to those that had any cause of complaint against the Ætolians. But when he arrived in that city, and the men that had been injured appeared before him, he treated some of them with the sharpest scorn; others with rough disdain and haughtiness; and some with threatenings and reproaches. And even in the very time of his continuance there, the same band of robbers, approaching close to the neighbourhood of the city, forced their way, with the help of ladders, into a house that was called the Farm of Chiron; killed all those that opposed their entrance, and, having bound the rest in chains, carried them away, together with the cattle and the goods.

The ephori of Messene, who before were very greatly incensed, not only by the robberies that had been committed in their country, but still more also by the presence of Dorimachus, being now persuaded that the grossest insult had been added to their wrongs, summoned him to appear before the magistrates. In this assembly, it was urged by Sciron, a man whose probity had placed him in high esteem among the citizens, and who was one of the ephori of the present year, that Dorimachus should not be permitted to leave the city till the plunder had been first restored, and the authors likewise of all the murders that had been committed delivered up to public punishment. The whole assembly seemed ready to assent to the justice of this propo-

sal; when Dorimachus, rising full of rage, declared, "that they were fools to think that this affront was offered to himself alone, and not rather to the whole republic of the Ætolians; that what they had now attempted was a thing so monstrous, that they could not, in reason, but expect that it must soon be followed by such heavy vengeance as would be felt through all their country."

There was, at this time, in Messene, a man of base condition, named Babyrtas, who was strongly attached to all the interests of Dorimachus, and who so perfectly resembled him both in voice and features that, if he had at any time been dressed in his cap and habit, he might easily have been mistaken for him; and this Dorimachus well knew. As he continued, therefore, to insult the assembly with the same haughty language, Sciron, being unable to restrain his passion, at last cried out, "Thinkest thou then, Babyrtas, that we shall pay the least regard either to thee or thy insolent threatenings?" Dorimachus then was silent; and, being forced to yield to the necessity that pressed him, suffered the Messenians to exact full reparation for all their wrongs. But he returned back again to Ætolia so deeply wounded by this abuse, that, without any other kind of cause or pretext, he immediately employed all his pains to excite the war which afterwards was made against the Messenians.

Ariston was, at this time, prætor of the Ætolians. But because he was unable, through some bodily infirmities, to support the fatigue of arms, and was

also very nearly allied in blood to Dorimachus and Scopas, he left chiefly to the care of the last of these the whole administration of the government. Dorimachus would not venture to propose in public to the Ætolians that war should be declared against the Messenians. For as there was no pretext for it that was worthy to be mentioned, it was manifest that all men would consider such proceeding as the mere effect of his own resentment, on account of the affront which he had received from Sciron. Resolving therefore to pursue a different method, he endeavoured secretly to prevail on Scopas to approve of his design, and to concert measures with him for attacking the Messenians. He represented to him that, by reason of the tender age of Philip, who was now no more than seventeen years old, they were perfectly secure on the side of Macedon; that the Lacedæmonians, in their sentiments, were far from being inclined to favour the Messenians; and that, as the Eleans were bound by friendship and alliance to the Ætolians, their entrance into the Messenian territory would, on that account, be both safe and easy. He set also before his view, what was likely indeed to be of the greatest weight in the mind of an Ætolian, the rich and valuable booty which they could scarcely fail to acquire from this invasion; since the country was wholly unprepared to receive an enemy, and was also the only part of Peloponnesus that had remained unpillaged during the time of the Cleomenic war. He added likewise, that such an expedition

would raise them high in the esteem and favour of the Ætolians; that, if the Achæans should attempt to oppose their passage through their territory, they could have no reason to complain if force should be repelled by force; and if, on the other hand, they remained inactive, there would then be nothing that could obstruct their progress; and, in the last place, that even with regard to the Messenians, some pretence might be also found for taking arms against them, since they had long ago embraced such measures as were repugnant to the interests of the Ætolian government, when they engaged themselves by treaty to assist the Macedonians and Achæans.

These arguments and motives, with others of the same kind and purpose, made so deep and forcible an impression on the minds of Scopas and his friends, that, not waiting to consult the general assembly of the Ætolians, not communicating their intentions to the apocleti, or paying the least regard to any other of the forms which their government, upon such occasions, required to be observed, following only the dictates of an impetuous passion, and guided by their own private judgement, they resolved to make war at once upon the Messenians, the Epirots, Achæans, Acarnanians, and the Macedonians. They immediately sent out some pirates upon the sea, who forced a vessel which they met near the island Cythera, and which belonged to the king of Macedon, to return back with them to Ætolia, and there exposed to sale the ship,

the passengers, and all the crew. After this exploit they equipped some Cephallenian barks, and, sailing along the shore of Epirus, pillaged all the coast. They attempted also to take Thyreum, a town of Acarnania, by surprise. And having, at the same time, sent some troops, through private roads, into Peloponnesus, they made themselves masters of a fortress called Clarium, which stood in the very middle of the Megalopolitan territory. In this place, they exposed their plunder to public sale; designing also to use the fortress as their citadel, from whence they might make incursions into all the neighbouring country. But within some days afterwards it was attacked and stormed by Timoxenus, the prætor of the Achæans, assisted by Taurion, the Macedonian general, who was left by Antigonus in Peloponnesus, to watch over the interests of the kings of Macedon in that country. For though Antigonus was possessed of Corinth, which was yielded to him in the beginning of the Cleomenic war, yet afterwards, when he had taken Orchomenus by storm, instead of restoring it again to the Achæans, he chose to retain that town likewise as his own; being willing, as I suppose, not only to be master of the entrance into Peloponnesus, but to be able also to controul the inland parts of the province as occasion should require. With this design he had placed a garrison in Orchomenus, and supplied it with all the necessary stores for war.

Dorimachus and Scopas, having waited till the

time was come in which Timoxenus, the prætor of the Achæans, was just ready to resign his office, and when Aratus, who was appointed prætor of the following year, had not yet entered upon the duties of his post, assembled all the Ætolians together at Rhium; and having provided the transports that were necessary, and equipped also the vessels of the Cephallenians, they embarked their forces, and passing over into Peloponnesus, began their march towards Messenia, through the territory of the Patræans, the Pharæans, and Tritæans; pretending still as they advanced, that they had no design to commit hostilities against any of the Achæan states. But the troops, unable to restrain their natural appetite, plundered and destroyed every thing within their reach. And when they arrived at last near Phigalea, they from thence fell suddenly, and without reserve, upon the lands of the Messenians; unmoved by the alliance which had so long subsisted between this people and their own republic, and regardless also of all the common rights of men. For so strong was their rapaciousness, that every other consideration was forced to fall before it. They wasted the country therefore at their leisure, and found no resistance; for the Messenians dared not to appear in arms against them.

CHAP. II.

IT was now the time, in which the Achæans usually held a general council of the states, according to their laws. As soon therefore as they were assembled together at Ægium, the Patræans and Pharæans recounted all the wrongs and violence which they had received from the Ætolians as they passed through their territories. There were present also some deputies from the Messenians, who implored the assistance of the republic against an enemy that had thus attacked them in contempt of the most sacred treaties. The injuries which the former had sustained, did not fail to excite a proper indignation in the whole assembly, as the sufferings of the latter raised their pity. But that which appeared most insolent and monstrous, was, that the Ætolians, in violation of the treaties which even then subsisted between the two republics, had dared to take their passage through Achaia with an army, without any leave obtained, without deigning even in any manner to excuse or justify the action. Incensed therefore by all these circumstances, they resolved, that some assistance should be sent to the Messenians: that the prætor should assemble the Achæans together in arms: and that the measures which should afterwards be

in their minds. Nor is it in those things alone, which are different from each other, that men are seen to possess abilities very proper for the one, and ill-adapted to the other; but even in those of similar kind, the same man shall in some discover great wisdom and discernment, and be found to want the talents that are requisite for others; on some occasions shall be brave and enterprising, but cold and cowardly upon others. These things are not paradoxes: but, on the contrary, are known to happen every day; and are clearly understood by those, who view the affairs of men with due attention. There are some, who, in following the diversions of the field, encounter boldly with the fiercest beast, but basely lose all spirit, when they stand against an enemy in arms. Some again in battle, acquit themselves with vigour and dexterity, in the way of single combat: but when they are formed together into ranks with others, they are found to possess neither force nor courage. The shock of the Thessalian cavalry, advancing in close order to the charge, is such as can scarcely be sustained. Yet these same troops, as often as they are forced to break their ranks, and engage man with man as place and circumstances may require, lose all their spirit and activity. The Ætolians are in both respects just contrary to these. The Cretans have at all times shown no small dexterity and skill, both upon land and sea, in forming ambuscades; in pursuing all the little arts of robbery and pillage; in concerting an attack

by night; and, in a word, in all things that are conducted by surprise, and in separate parties. But when they are drawn up in battle, and constrained to face the enemy in a set engagement, their hearts shrink back at once at the sight of danger. The Achæans, on the contrary, and the Macedonian troops, are serviceable only in regular and stated combats. But these examples are sufficient for my present purpose, and may serve as a caution to the reader not to call in question my veracity or judgement, if at any time I should be found hereafter, ascribing to the same men opposite qualities, even in things of a like nature and resemblance.

When the Achæans, in obedience to the decree that had been made, were all met in arms at Megalopolis, for from thence we began this last digression, the Messenian deputies appeared again before the assembly, and conjured them to revenge the wrongs which they had sustained. They desired likewise, and with no small earnestness, that they might be received into the general alliance, and be enrolled among the other states. But the chiefs of the Achæans refused to yield to this request: declaring, that they had no power to admit any new confederates, without the consent of Philip, and the rest of the allies. For that joint confederacy was still subsisting, which had been solemnly made and ratified in the time of the Cleomenic war, between the Achæans, and Epirots, the Phocæans, Macedonians, Bœotians, Acarnanians,

and Thessalians. They engaged, however, to assist them with their forces, on condition that those Messenians, who then were present, would leave their sons as hostages in Lacedæmon; that no peace might be concluded with the Ætolians, without the knowledge and consent of the Achæans. The Lacedæmonians, who had also raised some forces, as being included in the general confederacy, advanced as far as to the borders of the Megalopolitan territory, and there encamped; designing rather to expect the event, and observe the motions of the rest that were in arms, than to discharge their office as allies.

Aratus, having thus far accomplished his designs in favour of the Messenians, sent some messengers to the Ætolians, to inform them of the decree that had been made, and to command them instantly to leave the Messenian territory, and not to enter Achaia, on pain of being opposed as enemies. When Scopas and Dorimachus had received the message, and heard likewise that the Achæans were already met together in arms, they judged that, in the present circumstances, it would be far most prudent to yield obedience to this order. Having therefore dispatched some couriers to Cyllene, and to Ariston the Ætolian prætor, requesting him to order all the transports that were then upon the coast to sail away in haste to the island Phlias, in two days afterwards they began their march, carrying with them all the booty, and directed their route towards Elea. For the Ætolians had been

always careful to preserve a close alliance with the Eleans; that through their means they might obtain a secure and easy passage into Peloponnesus, as often as they were inclined to invade that province. Aratus, having remained two days at Megalopolis, and suffering himself too easily to be persuaded, that the Ætolians had in earnest resolved to leave the country, dismissed the Lacedæmonians, and the greater part of the Achæans also, to their respective cities: and keeping only three thousand foot, and three hundred horse, together with the forces that were under the command of Taurion, he began his march towards Patræ, with design to follow the Ætolians at a moderate distance, during their retreat. When Dorimachus was informed that Aratus was marching close behind, and attending to his motions, being partly apprehensive, that the Achæans might fall upon him when he was just ready to embark, and take advantage of the disorder which would then be spread among the troops, and partly desirous also to obtain some fair occasion to excite a war, he gave orders that the plunder should immediately be conveyed under a sufficient guard to Rhium, as if he had designed to embark from thence; and himself at first followed with all the forces, to support the convoy. But after some time, he suddenly turned about, and directed his march back again towards Olympia. And being informed that Taurion and Aratus, with the forces just now mentioned, were at this time in the neighbourhood of Clitor, and judging also, that

it would be scarcely possible to embark his troops at Rhium without the hazard of a battle, he resolved to meet and engage the Achæans, while their forces not only were so inconsiderable in their numbers, but were void of all apprehension likewise of any such attempt. For he had considered with himself, that in case he should be able to defeat and disperse these troops, he might then waste the country at his leisure, and embark in full security, before Aratus could take the measures that were necessary for assembling the Achæans again together: or on the other hand, if this magistrate should be struck with terror, and refuse to venture on a battle, that his retreat would then be both safe and easy, and might be made also at the time which himself should judge to be the most convenient. With these sentiments, he continued his march forwards, and incamped near Methydrium, in the Megalopolitan territory.

The Achæan generals, when they received the news that the Ætolians were advancing fast towards them, showed in all their conduct so entire a want of skill and judgement, that no folly ever could exceed it. Leaving the neighbourhood of Clitor, they went and incamped near Caphyæ. And when the Ætolians, marching from Methydrium, had passed just beyond Orchomenus, they led out their forces, and ranged them in order of battle in the plain of Caphyæ, having in their front the river which ran through the plain. Before the river, there were many trenches also of considerable depth, and not

easy to be passed. The Ætolians, when they had viewed these obstacles which lay between them and the enemy, and saw likewise that the Achæans showed no small alacrity and impatience to engage, not daring to attack them in their post, as they had at first designed, marched away in close order towards the hills; designing to retreat to Oligyrtus; and thinking it sufficient, if they could now be able to retire, without being forced to risk a battle. The foremost of their troops were already arrived upon the eminences, and the cavalry also, which closed the rear of all the army as they marched through the plain, had almost gained the hill called Propus, when Aratus sent away his cavalry and light-armed forces under the conduct of Epistratus, with orders, that they should attack the rear, and endeavour to draw the enemy into action. But if this general had resolved to venture on a battle, instead of falling upon the rear of the Ætolians, when the whole army had already passed the plain, he rather should have charged the foremost of their troops, as soon as they began to enter it. For then, as the action would have passed upon a flat and level ground, the Ætolians must have laboured under many difficulties, on account both of their arms, and of the disposition also of their troops: while the Achæans, on the contrary, who were armed, and ranged in battle, after a different manner, might have exerted all the force that was peculiar to them, and have fought with manifest advantage. But now, having first neglected both the

place and time of action that were most suitable and proper for themselves, they resolved to begin the fight, when both were favourable to the enemy. The issue therefore of the battle was such as might be well expected to result from so absurd a conduct. As soon as the light-armed forces had begun to skirmish with the rear, the Ætolian cavalry, keeping still their ranks, pushed on their way towards the hill that was before them, in order to join their infantry. Aratus not discerning the true intention of this sudden haste, nor considering what it was that was likely now to follow, but being persuaded that these troops already fled before him, sent away some of his heavy infantry, to support the light-armed forces: and then turning all the army upon one of the wings, he advanced with the greatest speed towards the enemy. The Ætolian cavalry, having gained the extremity of the plain, took their post close upon the foot of the hills, and drew together the infantry on both sides round them; recalling also those that were upon their march, who ran back with great alacrity to their assistance. And when their numbers were sufficient for the combat, they advanced with fury, and in the closest order, against the foremost ranks of Achæan cavalry, and light-armed troops. The action was for some time warm and obstinate. But as the Ætolians were superior in their numbers, and had begun the attack from higher ground, the Achæans were at last compelled to fly. The heavy forces, that had been sent to support these

troops, and who now arrived, in the same loose and broken order in which they had marched, being in part unable to discern the truth of what had happened, and partly because they were pressed by those that were retreating, were themselves also forced to turn their backs, and accompany the others in their flight. And from hence it happened, that though five hundred only of the Achæans were at first defeated in the action, yet those that now fled together were above two thousand. The Ætolians seized the advantage and pursued the enemy with the greatest ardour, and with loud shouts and cries. The Achæans, imagining that the main body of their infantry still kept the advantageous ground in which they had left them in the beginning of the action, at first retired towards that place; so that their flight for some time appeared to be no dishonourable means of safety. But when they saw that these troops also, having left their post, were advancing fast towards them, but in a long and broken train; one part immediately fled different ways towards the neighbouring cities; while the rest, disordered and confused, fell against this very infantry as they approached, and spread such consternation among all the troops, that the rout then became complete, without any efforts of the enemy. The cities, as we have said, afforded to many of them a secure retreat; especially Orchomenus and Caphyæ, which were near. Without this advantage, the whole army would have been in the utmost danger of being all shamefully destroyed upon the place.

Such was the end of the battle that was fought near Caphyæ. The Megalopolitans, who had called together all their forces by sound of trumpet, as soon as they heard that the Ætolians were encamped near Methydrium, arrived in the plain, on the very day following the action. But instead of finding their friends alive, and joining their forces with them against the enemy, they had now nothing left, but to pay the last solemn duties to their bodies. Having collected together therefore the remains of these unhappy men, they buried them in the plain, with all due honours.

The Ætolians, when they had thus beyond all expectation gained the victory by their cavalry alone and light-armed forces, continued their route through the very middle of Peloponnesus. And having, in their march, attempted to take by storm the city of Pellene, and plundered likewise all the Sicyonian territory, they at last retired along the way of the Isthmus.

Such were the transactions, which afforded both the cause and the pretext also of that which was called the Social war: and the beginning of it may be fixed from that decree, which was made soon afterwards at Corinth, upon the motion and advice of Philip, in a general assembly of the allies,

CHAP. III.

WHEN the Achæans, within a short time after the late action, were met together to hold the usual council of the states, all the people in general, and every one apart, seemed greatly incensed against Aratus; whose conduct was considered as the only cause of the misfortune that had happened to them. Those, therefore, who led the faction that opposed the interests of this prætor, seized the occasion, to inflame the multitude still more against him; and charged him with such heads of accusation, as were indeed too clear to be refuted. For first, it was a manifest offence, that, before his own administration was begun, and while the supreme command was vested in another, he had forwardly engaged in such kind of enterprises, in which, as himself well knew, he had before so often failed. A second, and a greater fault, was that he had sent the Achæans back again to their respective cities, while the Ætolians still remained in the very heart of Peloponnesus: though it was clear from every thing that had been transacted, that Dorimachus and Scopas had resolved to employ their utmost power, to create disorders, and excite a war. They reproached him, likewise, with having ventured on a battle, when he was pressed

by no necessity, and with forces that were so inconsiderable in their numbers: when on the contrary, he might have retired with safety to the neighbouring cities; and, when he had first drawn again together the troops that were dismissed, might have marched to engage the enemy, if it should then have been judged expedient. In the last place, it was urged against him, as a fault which merited not the least indulgence, that when he had resolved to risk a general battle, he showed so entire a want of skill and judgement in the conduct of it: and that, instead of taking advantage of the plain, and making a proper use of his heavy infantry, he on the contrary began the combat at the very foot of the hills, and with his light-armed forces only; though these were circumstances, which of all others, were the most commodious for the enemy, and the best adapted to their arms and disposition.

But notwithstanding all the weight and importance of the charge, when Aratus stood up to speak, and reminded the people of the many former services, which his country had received from his administration; when he began to answer to the facts of which he was accused; affirming, that he was not the cause of the defeat; and conjuring them to excuse any omissions or mistakes, which had perhaps escaped him during the time of the action; and in general to survey things, not with sharpness and severity, but with candour and indulgence; the whole assembly made at once a generous effort

in his favour, and, by a sudden change of sentiments, turned all their indignation upon the leaders of the faction that had formed the charge against him, and submitted to his sole advice and conduct the measures that were afterwards to be pursued.

These things all belong to the hundred-thirty-ninth Olympiad. We now go on to the transactions of that which followed.

In this assembly, the Achæans resolved, that some deputies should be sent without delay to the Epirots, Bœotians, Phocæans, Acarnanians, and to Philip: to inform them of the manner in which the Ætolians had twice entered Achaia with an army, in direct breach of treaties; to demand the succours, which, by the terms of the alliance, they were severally engaged to furnish; and to desire, that the Messenians also might be admitted into the confederacy. They ordered, likewise, that the prætor should draw together an army of five thousand foot, and five hundred horse, and march to the assistance of the Messenians, in case that their country should be again invaded: and that he should also regulate, with the Lacedæmonians and Messenians, the number of the troops, both infantry and cavalry, which they should severally be obliged to furnish, for the common service. With such firmness did the Achæans support their loss: and resolved on no account to abandon the Messenians, or relinquish their first design. The deputies made haste to discharge their commission

to the several states. The prætor levied troops among the Achæans, agreeably to the decree. And the Lacedæmonians and Messenians consented each to raise two thousand and five hundred foot, and two hundred and fifty horse. Thus the whole army was to consist of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse.

The Ætolians on the other hand, as soon as they were assembled in their general council, formed the project of entering into a treaty of peace with the Lacedæmonians, the Messenians, and the rest of the allies; designing, by this wicked and pernicious measure, to separate them from the Achæans. At the same time they also made the following decree. "That they would remain in peace with the Achæans, on condition that they would depart from their alliance with the Messenians; and, if this should be refused, that they would immediately declare war against them." A proceeding surely the most absurd, that can be well conceived. To be at the same time the allies both of the Messenians and Achæans, and yet to threaten the Achæans with a war, in case that they received the Messenians into their alliance, and on the other hand, to engage that they would remain in friendship with them, if they would regard that people as their enemies. But from hence it happened, that, by thus forming projects that were in the highest degree both senseless and impracticable, they left to their injustice not the least colour or support from reason.

As soon as the Epirots and king Philip had received the deputation from the Achæans, they readily consented, that the Messenians should be admitted into the confederacy. But with regard to the Ætolians, though at first indeed they were filled with some resentment on account of the late transactions, yet, because such proceedings were perfectly consistent with the manners and habitual practice of this people, as their surprise from what had happened was of short continuance, so their indignation also soon subsided, and they resolved that they would still remain in peace. So much more easily are men disposed to pardon a long and continued course of wickedness and violence, than any new and unexpected instance of injustice. For it was now grown to be the common custom of the Ætolians, to pillage continually all the parts of Greece, and to make war upon every state, without any previous declaration of it. Nor would they at any time submit to offer the least excuse or vindication of their conduct; but even laughed at those, who demanded from them any reasonable account, either of their past transactions, or of their future projects and designs. The Lacedæmonians, who so lately had received their liberty from the generous efforts of the Achæans and Antigonus, and who ought to have been restrained by that consideration, from pursuing any measures that were repugnant to the interests of the Macedonians and of Philip, sent now in private to the Ætolians, and concluded with them a secret treaty of friendship and alliance.

While the Achæans were employed in drawing together their forces, and in regulating all things that related to the succours which the Lacedæmonians and Messenians had engaged to furnish, Scerdilaidas and Demetrius of Pharos, departing from Illyria with a fleet of ninety frigates, sailed beyond Lissus, in direct violation of the treaty which had been concluded with the Romans. They first steered their course together to Pylus, and endeavoured to take the city by storm, but were repulsed in the attempt. Demetrius then took with him fifty of the vessels; and sailing round the Cyclade islands, he plundered some of them, and exacted large sums of money from the rest: while Scerdilaidas, with the forty frigates that were left, directing his course back again towards Illyria, cast anchor at Naupactus; trusting to the friendship of Amynas, king of the Athamanians, to whom he was allied in blood. And having, through the intervention of Agelaus, concluded a treaty also with the Ætolians, he engaged to join his forces with them against the Achæans, on condition that he should receive an equal share of all the booty. Dorimachus, Scopas, and Agelaus, consented to the terms that were proposed: and having about the same time conceived some hopes of gaining the city of Cynætha by surprise, they drew together all the Ætolian forces, and being joined also by the Illyrians, began their march towards Achaia.

In the mean time Ariston, the prætor of the Ætolians, remained quiet at home; and as if he

had been ignorant of all that was transacted, declared aloud, that they had no design to make war against the Achæans, but that the peace still subsisted between the two republics; acting, in this respect, a most weak and childish part. For what can be more vain or senseless, than to hope to conceal the truth under the disguise of words, when it is shown in the fullest light by the evidence of facts?

Dorimachus, passing through the Achæan territory, appeared suddenly before Cynætha. This city, which was situated in Arcadia, had, for a long time been distracted by intestine tumults; which were carried to so great excess that many of the citizens lost their lives in those disorders, and many were driven into banishment. They seized in turn upon the fortunes of each other, and made new divisions of their lands. At last the faction that had embraced the interests of the Achæans, having prevailed against the rest of the inhabitants, kept entire possession of the city, and received some troops for their defence, together with a governor also, from Achaia. While things were in this condition, and not long before the arrival of the Ætolians, those that had been forced to fly sent a deputation to the rest who remained masters of the city, requesting them to consent to terms of reconciliation with them, and to suffer them to return. The citizens, moved by their entreaties, sent some deputies to the Achæan states, that the agreement might be made with the knowledge and consent of that republic. The Achæans readily approved of

the design; being persuaded that they should thus be able to retain both parties in their interests for the time to come. For as the inhabitants that were masters of the city, were already in all points devoted to them, so those likewise, who were now to be restored, could scarcely fail of being always sensible that they were indebted to the Achæans for their safety and return. The Cynætheans, therefore, dismissed the garrison and governor from the city, and brought back the exiles, who were in number about three hundred; having first exacted such assurances of their fidelity as are esteemed the strongest and most sacred among mankind. But no sooner were these men admitted than, without even waiting till some pretext or occasion should arise, from whence they might renew the past contentions, they at once engaged in the black design of betraying their benefactors and their country. I am even inclined to think that, in the very moment when they touched the sacred victims, and made a mutual exchange of oaths and solemn promises, they were then revolving in their minds that impious project by which they had resolved so soon to insult the gods, and abuse the confidence of their fellow-citizens. For scarcely had they regained their former state, and were again associated in the government, when they concerted measures with the Ætolians for delivering the place into their hands; nor scrupled to involve in one common ruin both those to whom themselves were just before indebted for their safety, and that very city

also in whose lap they had been nourished. This treason was contrived and carried into execution in the following manner.

Among the exiles, there were some that were of the number of those magistrates who were called polemarchs; whose office it was to shut the gates of the city; to keep the keys in their own custody till they were again set open, and to guard the entrance also of the gates by day. The Ætolians had prepared their ladders, and stood in readiness to begin the attack. And when these polemarchs, having killed all those that were stationed with them upon the guard, had thrown the gate open to receive them, one part entered that way into the city, while the rest, with the assistance of their ladders, gained possession of the walls. The inhabitants were all seized with consternation, and knew not to what measures they should have recourse. For as it was not possible to fix themselves in a body to the gate, because the danger threatened equally from the walls, so neither were they able, on the other hand, to employ their efforts against those that were entering along the walls, while the rest advanced with no less ardour through the gate. The Ætolians, therefore, were in a short time masters of the place. But amidst all the violence and disorder that ensued, they performed one act of great and exemplary justice. For the traitors, by whose assistance they had been received into the city, were the first marked out for slaughter, and their goods first pillaged. The rest of the

inhabitants were forced afterwards to undergo the same cruel treatment. The Ætolians then spread themselves through all the houses, and penetrated even to the foundations of them in search of plunder; destroying also many of the citizens in torture, whom they suspected to have concealed any portion of their wealth or valuable goods.

Having thus fully satiated all their cruelty, they left a garrison in the place, and directed their march towards Lusi. And when they arrived at the temple of Diana, which stood between Clitor and Cynætha, and was esteemed inviolable among the Greeks, they began to force away the sacred cattle, and to pillage every thing that was within their reach. But the Lussiates, having wisely offered to them a part of the sacred furniture, restrained their impious purpose, and engaged them to desist from any greater violence. They continued their route, therefore, and came and encamped before Clitor. In the mean while Aratus, having sent to Philip to solicit some assistance, made haste to draw together all the Achæan forces; and demanded also from the Lacedæmonians and Messenians the troops which they had severally engaged to furnish.

The Ætolians, when they had first in vain endeavoured to prevail on the Clitorians to join their party, and renounce the alliance of the Achæans, made their approaches against the town, and attempted to scale the walls. But the inhabitants maintained their ground with so much bravery and firmness that they soon were forced to abandon the

design, and retreated back again towards Cynætha; plundering the country as they went, and carrying with them also the sacred cattle which they before had left untouched. They at first designed to leave Cynætha to the Eleans; and when this people refused the offer, they resolved that they would keep it in their own possession, and appointed Euripides to be the governor. But, in a short time afterwards, being alarmed by the report that some troops were just ready to arrive from Macedon, they set fire to the city and then retired, and directed their march towards Rhium; designing to embark their forces there, and to return back again to Ætolia.

The Macedonian general Taurion, being informed of all the motions of the Ætolians, and of the outrages which they had committed at Cynætha, and hearing also that Demetrius of Pharos had now brought back his fleet from the Cyclade islands to the port of Cenchreæ, sent some messengers to that prince, inviting him to join the Achæans; to transport his vessels across the Isthmus; and to fall upon the Ætolians in their return. Demetrius, who had gained a very rich booty in his expedition, though he was forced at last to fly with some disgrace before the Rhodians, who had sent out a fleet against him, consented readily to this proposal, on condition that Taurion should defray the charge of transporting the vessels over. But when he had passed the Isthmus, he found that the Ætolians had completed their return two days be-

fore. Having pillaged, therefore, some few places that stood most exposed along their coast, he then steered his course back to Corinth.

The Lacedæmonians perfidiously withheld the succours, which, by the stated regulation, they were bound to furnish, and sent only some inconsiderable troops of horse, with a small body of infantry, that thus they might appear not wholly to have slighted their engagements. Aratus also, with the Achæan forces, displayed rather, upon this occasion, the caution of a politician, than the courage of a general. For so entirely was his mind possessed with the remembrance of the late defeat, that he remained still quiet, and attempted nothing. Scopas, therefore, and Dorimachus accomplished at their leisure all that they had designed, and returned also back again with safety; though their retreat was made through passes so strait and difficult, that a trumpet only might have been sufficient to gain a victory against them.

With regard to the inhabitants of Cynætha, whose misfortunes we have just now mentioned, it is certain, that no people ever were esteemed so justly to deserve that cruel treatment to which they were exposed. And since the Arcadians in general have been always celebrated for their virtue throughout all Greece; and have obtained the highest fame, as well by their humane and hospitable disposition, as from their piety also towards the gods, and their veneration of all things sacred;

it may perhaps be useful to inquire, from whence it could arise, that the people of this single city, though confessed to be Arcadians, should on the contrary be noted for the savage roughness of their lives and manners, and distinguished by their wickedness and cruelty above all the Greeks. In my judgement, then, this difference has happened from no other cause, than that the Cynætheans were the first and only people among the Arcadians, who threw away that institution, which their ancestors had established with the greatest wisdom, and with a nice regard to the natural genius and peculiar disposition of the people of the country: I mean, the discipline and exercise of music: of that genuine and perfect music, which is useful indeed in every state, but absolutely necessary to the people of Arcadia. For we ought by no means to adopt the sentiment that is thrown out by Ephorus in the preface to his history, and which indeed is very unworthy of that writer; "that music was invented to deceive and delude mankind." Nor can it be supposed, that the Lacedæmonians, and the ancient Cretans, were not influenced by some good reason, when in the place of trumpets, they introduced the sound of flutes, and harmony of verse, to animate their soldiers in the time of battle; or that the first Arcadians acted without strong necessity, who, though their lives and manners, in all other points, were rigid and austere, incorporated this art into the very essence of their government; and obliged

not their children only, but the young men likewise, till they had gained the age of thirty years, to persist in the constant study and practice of it. For all men know, that Arcadia is almost the only country, in which the children, even from their most tender age, are taught to sing in measure the songs and hymns that are composed in honour of their gods and heroes; and that afterwards, when they have learned the music of Timotheus and Philoxenus, they assemble once in every year in the public theatres, at the feast of Bacchus, and there dance with emulation to the sound of flutes; and celebrate, according to their proper age; the children those that are called the puerile, and the young men, the manly games. And even in their private feasts and meetings, they are never known to employ any hired bands of music for their entertainment; but each man is himself obliged to sing in turn. For though they may, without shame or censure, disown all knowledge of every other science, they dare not on the one hand dissemble or deny that they are skilled in music, since the laws require, that every one should be instructed in it; nor can they, on the other hand, refuse to give some proofs of their skill when asked, because such refusal would be esteemed dishonourable. They are taught also to perform in order all the military steps and motions to the sound of instruments; and this is likewise practised every year in the theatres, at the public charge, and in sight of all the citizens.

Now to me it is clearly evident, that the ancients by no means introduced these customs to be the instruments of luxury and idle pleasure; but because they had considered with attention, both the painful and laborious course of life, to which the Arcadians were accustomed, and the natural austerity also of their manners, derived to them from that cold and heavy air, which covered the greatest part of all their province. For men will be always found to be in some degree assimilated to the climate in which they live: nor can it be ascribed to any other cause, that in the several nations of the world, distinct and separated from each other, we behold so wide a difference in complexion, features, manners, customs. The Arcadians, therefore, in order to smooth and soften that disposition which was by nature so rough and stubborn, besides the customs above described, appointed frequent festivals and sacrifices, which both sexes were required to celebrate together; the men with women, and the boys with virgins: and in general established every institution that could serve to render their rugged minds more gentle and compliant, and tame the fierceness of their manners. But the people of Cynætha, having slighted all these arts, though both their air and situation, the most inclement and unfavourable of any in Arcadia, made some such remedy more requisite to them than to the rest, were afterwards engaged continually in intestine tumults and contentions; till they became at last so fierce and

savage, that, among all the cities of Greece, there was none in which so many and so great enormities were ever known to be committed. To how deplorable a state this conduct had at last reduced them, and how much their manners were detested by the Arcadians, may be fully understood from that which happened to them, when they sent an embassy to Lacedæmon, after the time of a dreadful slaughter which had been made among them. For in every city of Arcadia, through which their deputies were obliged to pass, they were commanded by the public crier, instantly to be gone. The Mantineans also expressed even still more strongly their abhorrence of them. For as soon as they were departed, they made a solemn purification of the place, and carried victims in procession round the city and through all their territory.

This then may be sufficient to exempt the general customs of Arcadia from all censure; and at the same time to remind the people of that province, that music was at first established in their government, not for the sake of vain pleasure and amusement, but for such solid purposes as should engage them never to desert the practice of it. The Cynætheans also may perhaps draw some advantage from these reflections; and, if the deity should hereafter bless them with better sentiments, may turn their minds towards such discipline, as may soften and improve their manners, and especially to music; by which means alone

they can ever hope to be divested of that brutal fierceness, by which they have been so long distinguished. But we shall here leave this people, and return again to the place from whence we began our digression.

The Ætolians, after those exploits in Peloponnesus, which have been described, were just now returned again in safety to their country, when Philip arrived at Corinth with an army to assist the Achæans. Perceiving that the enemy was gone, he dispatched his couriers to all the cities of the alliance, desiring that some persons might be sent to Corinth, to deliberate with him on the measures that were proper to be taken for the common service; and himself in the mean while began his march towards Tegea; having received notice that the people of Lacedæmon were distracted by intestine tumults, and that much slaughter had been committed in the city. For the Lacedæmonians, who had been long accustomed to submit to kingly government, and to pay an unrestrained obedience to their chiefs, having now lately gained their liberty by the favour of Antigonus, and finding no monarch at their head, were broken into various factions, and all claimed alike an equal share in the administration of the state. Among the ephori, there were two, who made at first an open declaration of their sentiments, and three, that entered without reserve into all the interests of the Ætolians; imagining, that Philip, on account of his tender age, would be yet unable

to controul the affairs of Peloponnesus. But when these last perceived, that the Ætolians had left the country much sooner than their hopes had promised; and that Philip also was arrived from Macedon before they had expected his approach, they began to apprehend, that Adimantus, one of the former two, to whom they had opened their intentions, and in vain endeavoured to draw him to their party, would not fail to carry to the king a full discovery of all that had been transacted. Having therefore secretly engaged some young men in their design, they published a decree, that all who were of sufficient age, should meet in arms at the temple of Minerva, to defend the city against the Macedonians. An order so strange and unexpected soon drew the people together in crowds towards the temple. Adimantus, being deeply grieved at these proceedings, hastened to gain the head of all the assembly, and began to address the people in the following manner. "When the Ætolians," said he, "our declared and open enemies, had drawn their forces to the very borders of our country, it was then the time to publish these decrees, and to assemble the youth in arms: and not when the Macedonians, our allies and friends, to whom we owe our liberties and safety, are advancing with their king towards us." But as he was proceeding in this harangue, some of the young men who had been appointed to the task, fell upon him with their swords. They then killed also Sthenelaus, Alca-

menes, Thyestes, Biomidas, with many others of the citizens. But Polyphontes, and some few besides, having in time foreseen the danger, escaped safe to Philip.

After this transaction, the ephori, who were now sole masters of the government, sent some deputies to Philip, to accuse the citizens that were slain, as having been themselves the authors of the tumult: to request the king not to advance any nearer to them, till the commotion that remained from the late sedition had first subsided; and in the last place to assure him, that, with regard to the Macedonians, they were ready in all points to perform their duty, as justice or as friendship should require. The deputies, having met the king near the mountain called Parthenius, discharged their commission to him, agreeably to these instructions. When they had ended, Philip ordered them to return immediately back to Sparta, and acquaint the ephori, that he designed to continue his march forwards, and to encamp near Tegea; and that they should send to him to that place, without delay, some persons of sufficient weight, to deliberate with him on the measures that were proper to be pursued in this conjuncture. The ephori, as soon as they had received these orders, deputed to the king ten citizens, of whom Omias was the chief: who, when they arrived at Tegea, and were admitted into the royal council, began also with accusing Adimantus and his friends, as having been the authors of the late dis-

orders. They promised that they would observe most faithfully the terms of the alliance: and that among all the states, that seemed most closely attached by friendship to the king, the Lacedæmonians should yield to none in the sincerity and zeal with which they would at all times strive to advance his interests. After these assurances, with others of the same kind and purpose, the deputies retired.

The members of the council were divided in their sentiments. For some, who were well acquainted with the secret of the late transactions, and who knew that Adimantus and the rest had lost their lives, on account only of their attachment to the Macedonians, and that the Lacedæmonians already had resolved to join the Ætolians, advised the king to have recourse to some exemplary vengeance; and, in a word, to punish this people with the same severity, as that with which Alexander punished the inhabitants of Thebes, soon after he had taken possession of his kingdom. Others, who were of greater age, declared that such treatment would too far exceed the offence. They thought, however, that it was highly reasonable, that the men, who had been the cause of the late disorders, should be forced to bear some censure: that they should be divested of their offices, and the government be left to those, who were known to be well disposed towards the king.

When they had all delivered their opinion, the

king himself replied in the following manner; if, indeed, we can at all suppose that such an answer was his own. For it is scarcely credible that a youth of seventeen years should be able to decide with such true judgement, in matters of so great importance. But when we are writing history, we are forced always to ascribe every final decision that is made in such debates, to those who are possessed of the supreme administration and command: leaving it however to the reader to suppose, that the reasons upon which such decisions are supported, were at first suggested by the persons that are near the prince; and especially by those who are masters of his private confidence. In the present instance, it seems most probable, that Aratus furnished the opinion which was now delivered by the king.

He said then, "that in the case of those disorders and acts of violence that were at any time committed by the allies among themselves, his duty might perhaps require him so far to interpose, as to acquaint them with his sentiments, and endeavour to compose their breaches, and correct all that was amiss, by exhortations or by letters: but that such offences only, as were crimes against the general confederacy, required a general and a public punishment; and that too from all the allies in common. That as the Lacedæmonians had been guilty of no open violation of the laws of this confederacy, but on the contrary had engaged by the most solemn promises, that they would faith-

fully perform the conditions of it, it seemed to be by no means just or reasonable, that any kind of severity should be shown towards them. He added likewise, that it could scarcely fail to draw upon himself the censure of mankind, if now, from so slight a cause, he should resolve to act with rigour against this people, whom his father not long before had treated with the utmost gentleness, even after he had conquered them as enemies."

As soon, then, as it was decided that no farther inquiry should be made concerning the late transactions, the king sent Petræus, one of his friends, together with Omias, to Lacedæmon, to exhort the people still to adhere to the interest of the Macedonians, and to confirm anew the alliance by a mutual exchange of oaths. He then decamped, and returned again to Corinth; having shown, in this generous treatment of the Lacedæmonians, such a specimen of his mind and inclinations as filled the allies with the fairest hopes.

CHAP. IV.

THE king being now met at Corinth by the deputies from the confederate states, held a general council, to deliberate on the measures that were proper to be taken against the Ætolians. The Boeotians accused them of having plundered the temple of Itonian Minerva during the time of peace. The Phocæans, that they had armed some forces, with design to possess themselves of Ambrysus and Daulis. The Epirots, that they had wasted all their province. And the Acarnanians, that they had attempted to take Thyreum by surprise. The Achæans also related at large in what manner they had gained possession of Clarium, in the Megalopolitan territory; wasted all the lands of the Patræans and Pharæans; sacked the city of Cynætha; pillaged the temple of Diana at Lussi; laid siege to Clitor; made an attack by sea upon Pylus; and by land likewise, being assisted by the Illyrians, had attempted to storm the city of Megalopolis, when it was just now beginning to be filled again with people, in order to reduce it to its late desolate state.

When the council had heard all these complaints, it was, with one voice, agreed that war should be declared against the Ætolians. They made, there-

fore, a decree, in which, having first recited the several accusations just now mentioned, they declared, "that they would immediately employ all their force, in favour of the allies, to recover every city and every province which the Ætolians had usurped, from the time of the death of Demetrius, the father of Philip. That those who had been compelled by the necessity of times and circumstances to associate themselves with the Ætolian republic, should be reinstated in their own proper government; should possess their towns and territories free from garrisons, and discharged from tribute; should enjoy their liberty entire; and be governed by the customs of their ancestors. And, in the last place, that the power and laws of the Amphictyons should be again restored, together with the temple likewise, and all the jurisdiction of which the Ætolians had deprived them." This decree was made in the first year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, and from hence began the social war. A war founded altogether upon justice; and such as was indeed the fair and necessary consequence of the past disorders.

The council then sent some deputies to all the allies, that the decree might be confirmed in every state, in a general assembly of the people, and war be declared against the Ætolians in every separate province. At the same time Philip informed the Ætolians also by a letter, that if there was any thing that could be urged in answer to the accusations with which they had been charged, they might

now appear before the council, and enter upon their defence; but that it was the very height of folly to persuade themselves that, because they had robbed and pillaged all the parts of Greece before hostilities had been declared by any decree of their republic, the states must, therefore, quietly submit to the injustice; or, in case that they prepared to punish it, be considered as the authors of the war.

The chiefs of the Ætolians, having received the letter, appointed at first a certain day upon which they promised that they would meet the king at Rhium; imagining that Philip would refuse to come. But when they heard that he was arrived they sent a courier to acquaint him, that as the general council of the Ætolians was not yet assembled, they had no power of themselves to enter into any deliberations in things which concerned the whole republic.

The Achæans, as soon as they were met together at Ægium, at the usual time of holding their assemblies, with one voice confirmed the decree, and made public proclamation of war against the Ætolians. The king, who was present in the council, made a long discourse; which the Achæans received with the greatest marks of favour, and renewed with him all the obligations of fidelity and friendship, which they had made in former times to any of his ancestors.

About this time also the Ætolians, being assembled to elect their magistrates, made choice of Scopas to be prætor; the very man who was the cause

of all the late disorders. What shall we say of this proceeding? Not to declare war by any public decree, and yet to assemble the people together in arms, to invade and pillage every neighbouring state; and, instead of punishing the authors of this violence, to receive them with rewards and honours, and to advance them to the highest magistracies. Such a conduct must surely be considered as a most consummate piece of wickedness; and such as cannot be expressed in any softer language. The following examples may serve more clearly to explain the nature of this baseness. When Phœbidas had, by treachery, seized the citadel of Thebes that was called Cadmea, the Lacedæmonians punished indeed the author of that dishonourable action, but suffered the garrison still to keep possession of the citadel; and pretended that they had made full satisfaction for the injustice, by chastising him who had contrived the perfidy: whereas it was clear to all that the Thebans could be neither safe nor free unless the garrison also was withdrawn. The same people likewise, after the general peace had been concluded by Antalcidas, declared, by the voice of the public crier, that they restored to liberty all the states of Greece, and left them to be governed by their own proper laws; when, at the same time, they refused to remove the magistrates who presided, under their appointment, in every city. And afterwards, when they had subdued the Mantineans, their allies and friends, and forced them to dissolve their government, they pretended

that they had done them no kind of wrong, since they had only taken them from one city to settle them in many. But surely it is no less a proof of folly than of wickedness for any people to conceive that, because themselves have wilfully shut their eyes, all mankind besides must be therefore blind. And indeed this conduct proved the source of such great calamities both to the Lacedæmonians and Ætolians, that those who are wise will on no account be ever led to imitate it, either in their private affairs or in the public government of states.

The king, when he had regulated all things with the Achæans, retired back again to Macedon with his army, and began to make the necessary preparations for the war. The decree that had now been made had raised him high in the esteem not only of the allies but of all the people of Greece, who were filled with the noblest expectations from the proofs which he had already shown of gentleness and moderation, and of such true greatness as was worthy of a king.

These things were all transacted at the time in which Annibal, having subdued the other parts of Spain that were beyond the Iberus, was preparing to besiege Saguntum. Now, if the motions and first progress of this general had, in any manner, been connected with the affairs of Greece, we should have joined and interwoven the history of the latter in its due place and order, with the relation which we gave of the former in the preceding book. But because the wars that now broke out

in Italy, in Greece, and Asia, had each a beginning distinct and peculiar to themselves, though they all were terminated in one common end, it seemed most proper that we should give also a distinct and separate account of each till we arrived at the time in which they were blended first together, and began to move in one direction towards the same single point. By this method we shall be able to explain with greater clearness not only the commencements of these wars, but all the circumstances also that belonged to their first connexion; the time and manner of which, together with the causes of it, have already been in part remarked; and shall afterwards unite them all in one common history. This connexion first was made in the third year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, soon after the conclusion of the social war. From the end of this war, therefore, we shall include, as we have said, in one general history, all the events that followed; intermixing them together in their proper place and order. But, before that period, we shall treat of every one distinctly; taking care, however, still to remind the reader which, among those transactions that are described in the preceding book, were coincident with the events which we are now going to relate. For thus the whole narration will be rendered easy and intelligible; and the importance also of the subjects will appear with more advantage, and will strike the mind with a greater force.

The king, during the time of winter, which he passed in Macedon, levied troops with the greatest

diligence; and made also the preparations that were necessary to secure his kingdom against the attempts of those barbarians who lived upon the borders of it. He afterwards went to hold a private conference with Scerdilaidas. And having trusted himself boldly in his hands, and pressed him to join in the alliance, and become a confederate in the war, he prevailed without much difficulty; partly by engaging to assist him in reducing certain places in Illyria, and partly also by enumerating all those subjects of complaint which it was no hard task to find against the Ætolians. For the wrongs and injuries that are committed by public states differ in no respect from those that are done by private men, except only in their number and importance. It may also be remarked, that societies of thieves and robbers are usually broken by no other means than because the persons of whom they are composed fail to render justice to each other, and are false to their own mutual engagements. And this it was that happened now to the Ætolians. They had promised to allot to Scerdilaidas a certain part of all the plunder, if he would join his forces with them to invade Achaia. But when this was done, and they had sacked the city of Cynætha, and carried away great numbers both of slaves and cattle, they excluded him even from the smallest share in the division of the booty. As his mind, therefore, was already filled with a sense of this injustice, no sooner had Philip slightly mentioned the wrongs which he had received than he entered readily into

all that was proposed, and consented to join in the confederacy upon these conditions; that twenty talents should be paid to him every year; and that, on his part, he should arm thirty frigates, and carry on the war by sea against the Ætolians.

While the king was thus employed, the deputies that were sent to all the allies, came first to Acarnania, and discharged their commission there. The Acarnanians, honest and ingenuous, confirmed immediately the decree, and declared war against the Ætolians without any hesitation or reserve. And yet of all the states of Greece this people might, most reasonably, have been excused if they had sought pretences for delay; had been slow in making any declaration of their sentiments; and, in a word, had altogether feared to draw upon themselves the vengeance of their neighbours. For, as they were closely joined to the confines of the Ætolian territory, so their country likewise was open and defenceless, and an easy prey to every enemy. And, which was still of more considerable moment, the hatred also which they had shown against the Ætolians, had involved them, not long before this time, in very great calamities. But men that are brave and generous will force all considerations to fall before their duty. And so strongly was this virtue rooted in the Acarnanians that, though their state was extremely weak and feeble, they had scarcely in any times been known to swerve from the practice of it. In every conjuncture, therefore, that is dangerous and difficult, an alliance with this

people ought by no means to be slighted, but should rather be embraced with eagerness; since, among all the Greeks, there are none who have shown a warmer love of liberty, or a more unalterable steadiness in all their conduct.

The Epirots, on the contrary, when they had received the deputies, confirmed indeed the decree, but refused to make any declaration of war against the Ætolians till Philip should have first declared it. At the same time they assured the deputies that were then present from Ætolia, that they would still remain in peace. And thus they acted both a double and dishonourable part. An embassy was sent also to king Ptolemy, to request him not to assist the Ætolians with any kind of supplies or money for the war, in opposition to Philip and the allies.

But the Messenians, for whose sake chiefly the confederacy was formed, refused to bear any part in the war, unless the city of Phigalea, which stood upon the borders of their province, should first be separated from the Ætolian government. This resolution, to which the ephori of the Messenians, Oenis, and Nicippus, with some others of the oligarchical leaders, had forced the people to consent, was, in my judgement, the most senseless and absurd that could be taken in the present circumstances. It is true, indeed, that the calamities of war are such as may well be dreaded; but not in so great a degree as that, rather than engage in it, we should submit with tameness to bear every injury. For to what purpose do we so highly prize

an equality in government, the liberty of speaking all our sentiments, and the glorious name of freedom, if nothing is to be preferred to peace? Must we then approve of the conduct of the Thebans, who, in the time of the wars against the Medes, which threatened the destruction of all the states of Greece, separated themselves from the common danger, and were led by their fears to embrace those measures which proved afterwards so fatal to them? Or can we applaud the sentiments of their poet, Pindar, who, in flattery to the judgement of his country, advises all the citizens to place their only hopes of safety in repose; and to seek, as he expresses it,

The radiant splendors of majestic Peace?

For these sentiments that appeared so plausible and specious were found, in the event, to be not less pernicious than dishonourable. In a word, as no acquisition is more to be esteemed than peace, when it leaves us in possession of our honour and lawful rights; so, on the other hand, whenever it is joined with loss of freedom, or with infamy, nothing can be more detestable or fatal.

Now the Messenians, whose counsels all were governed by a faction of a few, had always been misled by motives which respected only the private interests of the oligarchy, and had courted peace with much too great an earnestness. For though, in consequence of this attention to their ease, they

had escaped the storms that seemed to threaten them in many difficult conjunctures, yet, on the other hand, while they persisted still unalterably in this conduct, the danger, which they ought chiefly to have dreaded, gained insensibly so great strength against them that their country was at last forced to struggle with the worst calamities; which might, indeed, have all been obviated, if they had been careful only to pursue the measures that were necessary, with regard to the people that were situated nearest to them, and who were the most powerful likewise of all the states of Peloponnesus, or rather of all Greece; I mean the Lacedæmonians and Arcadians: the former of whom had shown an implacable enmity against them, even from their first settlement in the country, without being able to provoke them to any generous efforts of resentment; while the latter guarded all their interests with care, and treated them with favour and affection, which they neglected to cherish or maintain. From hence it happened, that while these two states were engaged in war, either against each other, or with any more distant enemies, the Messenians, favoured by the times, passed their lives in full security and repose. But when the Lacedæmonians were at last wholly disincumbered from all other wars, and had leisure to employ their strength against them; being then unable of themselves to resist an enemy whose force was far superior to their own, and having neglected also to gain in time such firm and honest friends, as might have stood toge-

ther with them under every danger, they were forced either to submit to the very vilest servitude, or to abandon their habitations and their country, together with their wives and children. And to this miserable alternative have they often been reduced; even within the times, that are not far distant from the present. For my own part, it is my earnest wish, that the agreement which now subsists among the states of Peloponnesus may still continue to acquire new strength; and that they may never want the advice, which I am going to offer. But if the bonds of this confederacy should ever be again dissolved, I am fully assured, that there is no other way by which the Messenians and Arcadians can hope long to remain in the possession of their country, than by embracing the sentiments of Epaminondas, and maintaining still, in every conjuncture, the closest union both of interests and counsels without dissimulation or reserve. It may add perhaps some weight to my opinion, if we consider what was in this respect the conduct of these two states in ancient times. Now, among many other things that might be mentioned, it is reported by Callisthenes, that the Messenians, in the time of Aristomenes, erected a column near the altar of Lycæan Jupiter, and inscribed upon it the following verses:

At last stern Justice seals the tyrant's doom,
Led by the gods, Messenia's injur'd land
Soon found the traitor through his dark disguise:
Vain was his hope, to shun Heav'n's vengeful hand,
Or veil his perj'ry from Jove's piercing eyes.

All hail, the sov'reign king! the Lord of fate!
Ever propitious prove, and bless Arcadia's state.

From this inscription, in which they thus implore the gods to protect Arcadia, we may judge that the Messenians were willing to acknowledge, that they regarded this province as their second country, after they had lost their own. And indeed they had good reason so to regard it. For when they were driven from their country, in the time of those wars in which they were engaged under the conduct of Aristomenes, the Arcadians not only yielded to them the protection of their state, and admitted them to the rights of citizens, but gave their daughters also, by a public decree, to the young Messenians that were of age to marry. And having made inquiry likewise into the guilt of their own king Aristocrates, who had basely deserted the Messenians in the combat that was called the Battle of the Trenches, they destroyed the traitor, and extirpated also all his race. But without looking back to an age so far removed, that which happened about the time in which Megalopolis and Messene began to be inhabited, may serve fully to confirm the point which I am labouring to establish. After the battle of Mantinea, in which the death of Epaminondas left the victory doubtful, the Lacedæmonians employed all their efforts to exclude the people of Messenia from the general treaty; having flattered themselves with secret hopes, that they should soon become the masters of that province. But the Megalopolitans, with all the states

that were confederates with the Arcadians supported the Messenians with so much steadiness and zeal, that they were received by the allies, and included in the peace; while the Lacedæmonians alone, of all the Greeks, were themselves excluded from it. This then may be sufficient to show the truth of all that I have now advanced. And from hence the Messenians and Arcadians may be taught to remember always the misfortunes that have been brought upon their country by the Lacedæmonians, in former times; and to remain so firmly joined together in the bonds of mutual confidence and friendship, that they never may be moved, either by the dread of an enemy, or by any unreasonable love of peace, to desert each other in the time of danger. But we shall now return from this digression.

The Lacedæmonians acted, upon this occasion, in a manner not unsuitable to their usual conduct; for they dismissed the deputies, that were sent to them from the allies, without any answer. Such was the consequence of their late wicked and absurd proceedings; which had involved them in so great doubt and difficulty, that they knew not to what measures they ought now to have recourse. So true it is, that rash and desperate projects most frequently reduce men in the end to an utter incapacity, either to think or act.

But not long afterwards, when new ephori were elected in the city, the faction that had been the cause of the late disorders, and of the slaughter that was then committed, sent to the Ætolians, and de-

sired that some person might be deputed to them in the name of the republic. The Ætolians consented readily to this request. And when their deputy, who was named Machatas, arrived soon afterwards at Lacedæmon, the men, by whose advice he had been sent, pressed the ephori, that he might be allowed to speak in an assembly of the people. They demanded likewise, that some kings should be elected without delay, as the laws required; and the empire of the Heraclidæ no longer lie dissolved. The ephori, who were in every point displeased with the proceeding, but were too weak to resist the violence of those that drove it on; and who apprehended also, that, in case they should refuse to comply with these demands, the young man might be engaged in some attempt against them; consented to allow an assembly of the people to Machatas: but with regard to the proposal for restoring kingly government, they said, that they would deliberate together concerning it, at some future time.

When the people were assembled, Machatas pressed them, in a long discourse, to join their arms with the Ætolians. He boldly charged the Macedonians with many accusations that were vain and groundless: and on the other hand, bestowed such praises on his own republic, as were not less absurd than false. As soon as he had ended, the debates that followed were long and vehement. For some supporting all that had been urged in favour of the Ætolians, advised the assembly to accept the alliance that was offered; while others laboured, not

less warmly, to dissuade it. After some time however, when the oldest men rose up to speak, and reminded the people, on the one hand, of the many favours that had been heaped upon them by Antigonus and the Macedonians, and on the other hand, recounted all the injuries, which they had received from Timæus and Charixenus; when the Ætolians with a numerous army wasted all their country, led their people into slavery, and even attempted to take Sparta by surprise and force, having brought back the exiles to assist in the design; the whole assembly was at once prevailed on to embrace the sentiments that were most contrary to the Ætolians, and to remain firm in their alliance with the Macedonians and with Philip. Machatas therefore returned back again to his country, without having obtained the end of his commission.

But those who had been the authors of the former tumult, resolved that things should not long remain in their present state. Having gained therefore some of the young men of the city to their party, they formed a second attempt, which was indeed most horrible and impious. There was a certain sacrifice, of old institution in the country, in honour of Minerva; at which the custom was, that all the youth of the city should appear in arms, and walk in procession to the temple; while the ephori stood waiting round the shrine, ready to perform the sacred offices. At the time then of this solemn festival, some of the young men that were armed to attend the ceremony, fell suddenly upon the ma-

gistrates, as they were busied in the sacrifice, and slew them. Yet such was the sanctity of this temple, that it had afforded always an inviolable refuge even to men that were condemned to die. But so little was it now respected by these daring and inhuman wretches, that they made no scruple to pollute the venerable place with the blood of all the ephori; and to kill them even at the very altar, and round the sacred table of the goddess. Afterwards, that they might fully accomplish all their purpose, they killed also Gyridas, with others of the oldest men. And having forced the rest, that were averse to their designs, to retire from the city, they chose new ephori from their own faction, and immediately concluded an alliance with the Ætolians. The cause of all this violence was partly their hatred of the Achæans; partly their ingratitude towards the Macedonians; and in part likewise, their senseless disregard of all mankind. To which we may also add, what indeed was of the greatest weight, the affection which they still retained for Cleomenes, and the constant expectation which they cherished, that this prince would return to them again in safety. Thus it is that men who are acquainted with the arts of life, and whose manners are gentle and engaging, not only win the esteem and affection of mankind when they are present with them; but even in the time of long and distant absence, leave behind them such strong sparks of inclination and desire, as are not easily extinguished. For not to mention other circum-

stances, during three whole years which now had passed since Cleomenes was forced to desert his kingdom, the Lacedæmonians, though in other points their state was still administered according to the ancient laws, had shown not even the least desire to appoint other kings. But no sooner had the news of his death arrived at Sparta, than both the people and the ephori resolved that some should be elected without delay. The ephori, therefore, who belonged, as we have said, to the faction that had caused the late disorders, and concluded an alliance with the Ætolians, made choice of one who had a clear and uncontested right to bear the office. This was Agesipolis, who had not yet arrived indeed at perfect age, but was the son of Agesipolis, whose father Cleombrotus, when Leonidas was driven from Sparta, had succeeded to the kingdom, as being the next in blood to that prince. At the same time they named, as tutor to the king, Cleomenes, who was the son also of Cleombrotus, and brother of Agesipolis. But with regard to the other royal house, though there were now two sons remaining from a daughter of Hippomedon, by Archidamus the son of Eudamidas; and though Hippomedon himself was still alive, who was the son of Agesilaus, and grandson of Eudamidas; and though there were many others also, that were allied in a more remote degree to the branches of this family; yet all their claims were disregarded; and Lycurgus was advanced to be the other king; among whose ancestors there was none

that ever had possessed the regal dignity. But by giving only a single talent to each of the ephori, he became at once a descendant from the race of Hercules, and a king of Sparta. So easy oftentimes is the purchase even of the greatest honours. But from hence it happened, that not their children or remote posterity, but themselves who had made the choice, were the first that felt the punishment that was due to their imprudence.

Machatas, being informed of all that had been done in Sparta, returned back again to that city, and pressed the ephori and the kings to begin the war without delay against the Achæans. He represented to them, that this was the only measure by which they could hope effectually to break all contention, and defeat the attempts of those who, both in Lacedæmon and in Ætolia likewise, were still labouring to obstruct the alliance. And having thus, without great difficulty, accomplished his design, and engaged these foolish magistrates to approve of all that was proposed, he went back again to his own country. Lycurgus then drew together a body of troops; and having added to them also some of the forces of the city, he fell suddenly upon the Argian territory, before the people, who were persuaded that the peace still subsisted, had taken any measures for their security or defence. He made himself master, therefore, in the very first assault, of Polichna, Prasiæ, Len-

cæ, and Cyphanta. He endeavoured also to take by storm Glympes and Zarax, but was repulsed in the attempt. After these exploits the Lacedæmonians made public proclamation of the war. The Eleans also were prevailed on by Machatas, who repeated to them the same discourse which he had made at Lacedæmon, to turn their arms against the Achæans. And thus the Ætolians, finding that all things had conspired with their designs, entered upon the war with alacrity and confidence; while the Achæans, on the contrary, were dejected and distressed. For Philip, upon whom their chief strength and hopes were founded, had not yet completed all his preparations. The Epirots still formed pretences for delay; the Messenians remained inactive; and, lastly, the Ætolians, being thus favoured by the senseless conduct of the Lacedæmonians and Eleans, had already, as it were, enclosed them upon every side with war.

The prætorship of Aratus was just now ready to expire, and his son Aratus was appointed to succeed him. The Ætolian prætor, Scopas, had performed about half the course of his administration. For the Ætolians were accustomed to elect their magistrates immediately after the time of the autumnal equinox; and the Achæans at the rising of the Pleiades. As soon then as the younger Aratus had entered upon the duties of his office, the spring, being now advanced, all things every where began at once to hasten into

action. For it was now that Annibal was preparing to besiege Saguntum, and that the Romans sent an army into Illyria, to chastise Demetrius; that Antiochus, having gained possession, by the treachery of Theodotus, of Tyre and Ptolemais, resolved to usurp the sovereignty of Cœlesyria; and that Ptolemy, on the other hand, drew together all his forces to oppose him. At the same time Lycurgus, following in his conduct the example of Cleomenes, laid siege to Athenæum in the Megalopolitan territory. The Achæans collected a numerous body of mercenary troops, both infantry and cavalry, to secure their country from the war that was ready to surround them; and Philip also began his march from Macedon, at the head of ten thousand Macedonians heavy-armed, five thousand Peltastæ, and eight hundred horse. And lastly, while all these great and important armaments were thus ready to be carried into action, the Rhodians likewise began their war upon the people of Byzantium, from the causes which I am now going to relate.

CHAP. V.

BYZANTIUM, of all the cities in the world, is the most happy in its situation with respect to the sea; being not only secure on that side from all enemies, but possessed also of the means of obtaining every kind of necessaries in the greatest plenty. But with respect to the land, there is scarcely any place that has so little claim to these advantages. With regard to the sea, the Byzantines, standing close upon the entrance of the Pontus, command so absolutely all that passage, that it is not possible for any merchant to sail through it, or return, without their permission; and from hence they are the masters of all those commodities which are drawn in various kinds from the countries that lie round this sea, to satisfy the wants or the conveniencies of other men. For among the things that are necessary for use, they supply the Greeks with leather, and with great numbers of very serviceable slaves. And with regard to those that are esteemed conveniencies, they send honey and wax, with all kinds of seasoned and salted meats; taking from us in exchange our own superfluous commodities; oil, and every sort of wine. They sometimes also furnish us with corn, and sometimes receive

it from us, as the wants of either may require. Now it is certain that the Greeks must either be excluded wholly from this commerce, or be deprived at least of all its chief advantages if ever the Byzantines should engage in any ill designs against them, and be joined in friendship with the barbarous people of Galatia, or rather with those of Thrace; or even indeed if they should ever be disposed to leave the country. For as well by reason of the extreme narrowness of the passage, as from the numbers also of those barbarians that are settled round it, we never should be able to gain an entrance through it into the Pontus. Though the Byzantines, therefore, are themselves possessed of the first and best advantages of this happy situation, which enables them to make both an easy and a profitable exchange of their superfluous commodities, and to procure in return, without pain or danger, whatever their own lands fail to furnish; yet since, through their means chiefly, other countries also are enabled, as we have said, to obtain many things that are of the greatest use; it seems reasonable that they should be regarded always by the Greeks as common benefactors, and receive not only favour and acknowledgements, but assistance likewise to repel all attempts that may be made against them by their barbarous neighbours.

But as this city is placed a little beyond the limits of those countries which are most usually frequented by us; and because the nature and

peculiar excellence of its situation have hitherto, upon that account, remained almost unknown; it may, perhaps, be useful to explain at large the causes to which it is indebted for those great advantages which it enjoys. For since all men are not able to obtain the opportunity which is first to be desired, of viewing with their eyes the things that are singular and worthy of their observation in any distant country, I could wish, however, that at least they might be taught to gain some right conception of them, and even to form such an image of them in their minds as should bear a near resemblance to the truth.

That then which is called the Pontus, contains in its circumference almost twenty-two thousand stadia. It has two mouths, diametrically opposite to each other; one, which opens into the Propontis; and the other on the side of the Palus Mæotis, whose circumference includes about eight thousand stadia. These beds receive the waters of many large rivers, which flow into them from Asia; and of others likewise, more in number, and more considerable in their size, that come from Europe. The Mæotis, being filled by these, discharges them again, through the mouth last mentioned, into the Pontus, and from thence they still pass forwards through the other mouth into the Propontis. The mouth on the side of the Mæotis, is called the Cimmerian Bosphorus. It contains about sixty stadia in length, and about thirty in its breadth; and is, in every

part, of a very inconsiderable depth. The mouth of the Pontus, on the opposite side, is called the Thracian Bosphorus; and includes in length a hundred and twenty stadia; but the breadth of it is unequal. This mouth, beginning on the side of the Propontis, at that space which lies between Chalcedon and Byzantium, whose breadth is about fourteen stadia, from thence extends towards the Pontus, and is ended at a place called Hieron; in which Jason, at his return from Colchis, is said first to have offered sacrifice to the twelve gods. This place, though it be situated in Asia, is not far removed from Europe; being distant about twelve stadia only from the temple of Sarapis, which stands opposite to it upon the coast of Thrace.

There are two causes, to which it must be ascribed, that the Mæotis and the Pontus discharge their waters in continual flow from their respective beds. The first, which is obvious and clear to all, is, that when many rivers fall into a bed, whose limits are fixed and circumscribed, if no opening should be found through which they may be again discharged, the waters, as they are more and more increased, must still rise to a greater height, till at last they overflow their bounds, and run to fill a larger space than that into which they were at first received; but, on the other hand, if there be any free and open passage through which they may be allowed to flow, then all that is superfluous and redundant will,

of necessity, be discharged that way. The other cause is the great quantity of earth and various matter, which the rivers bring down with them after heavy rains. For from hence large banks are formed, which press and elevate the waters, and force them in like manner to direct their course forwards through the mouths that are open to receive them. And as these banks are formed continually, and the rivers also continue still to enter, in regular and constant flow, the efflux of the waters must be constant likewise, without any stop or intermission.

These then are the true causes, from whence the waters of the Pontus are continually flowing from their beds: causes, not derived from the report of merchants; but founded upon fact and nature: which afford indeed, in all inquiries, the surest and the most convincing evidence. But since we have advanced so far in this digression, instead of being satisfied with that hasty negligence, with which those who hitherto have treated of these subjects must almost all be charged, let us endeavour rather, not only to describe with accuracy the effects that are produced, but to add such a demonstration also of the causes from whence they severally arise, as may leave nothing doubtful or obscure. For in the present times, in which all parts of the earth are become accessible either by land or sea, we ought by no means to have recourse, in things that are unknown, to the fabulous re-

ports of poets and mythologists, and thus vainly labour to establish dark and disputable points, by a kind of testimony, which, as Heraclitus has remarked, deserves no credit; but should be careful rather to rest the whole authority of that which we relate, upon such facts alone as are drawn from the actual view and real knowledge of the places, which we at any time may take occasion to describe.

I say then, that both the Palus Mæotis and the Pontus have, for a long time past, received continually great quantities of earth and matter, which are still heaped together; and by which, in the course of time, their beds must be entirely filled: unless some change should happen in the places, or the rivers cease to bring down these impediments. For since time is infinite; but the limits of these beds circumscribed and fixed; it is manifest, that any such accession, how small soever, if it be constant only and never discontinued, must in the end be sufficient for this purpose. Nor is it possible indeed, that it should ever happen otherwise in nature, but that when any thing, which itself is finite, continues still, in the course of infinite succession, to receive any new supply, or to suffer any constant diminution, it must in the end arrive at its fullest possible increase, or, on the other hand, be wasted and destroyed; even though the addition, or the loss, should be made by the least conceivable degrees. But since it is not any

small and inconsiderable portion, but on the contrary, a very great quantity of matter, that is poured continually into these two beds, the consequence, of which we are speaking, must be considered, not as a remote event, but rather as one that is likely very soon to happen. I might almost say that it has already happened. For the Mæotis is indeed so nearly filled, that in most parts of it the water scarcely exceeds the depth of fifteen or of twenty feet: so that large vessels cannot pass securely through it without a pilot. We may also add; that the Mæotis, as all writers have declared, was anciently a sea, and flowed intermingled with the Pontus: whereas at this time, it is known to be a sweet and stagnant lake; the waters of the Pontus being still forced backwards, and excluded from it, by the banks of sand; while the rivers continue still to enter, and possess all the space.

The same event must happen likewise in the Pontus. And indeed this also has in part already happened: though by reason of the largeness of the bed, there are few that have yet perceived it. But a slight degree of attention will even now clearly show the truth of this opinion. For the Ister, which flows from Europe, and discharges itself into the Pontus by many mouths, has already, with the sand and other matter which it brings down with it, formed a bank which is called by the seamen Stethe, of

almost a thousand stadia in its length, and at the distance of one day's course from land; against which the vessels that pass through the Pontus, as they are sailing in mid-sea, often strike unwarily in the night. The cause to which it must be ascribed, that this bank, instead of being settled near the shore, is pushed forward to so great a distance from it, is plainly this which follows. As long as the rivers retain so much of their impetuosity and force, as is sufficient to surmount the resistance of the sea, and to make it yield its place, so long likewise, the sand, and every thing besides that is brought down with them, must still be driven forwards, and not suffered either to stop or to subside. But when the violence and rapidity of the current are once checked and broken by the depth and quantity of the opposing waters, then the heavy earth, which before was wafted in the stream, is by its own nature sunk towards the bottom, and settled there. And from hence it happens, that those banks of sand, which are formed by large and rapid rivers, are thrown together either at a distance from the shore, or in some deep water near it: while those, on the contrary, that are brought down by small and gentle streams, lie close to the very entrance of the mouths, from whence they are discharged. This remark may be confirmed, by that which is known to happen after the fall of strong and violent rains. For at those times, even the smallest

rivers, having been once enabled to surmount the resistance of the waters at their entrance, force their way far into the sea, and still drive the sands before them, to a greater or more moderate distance; in proportion to their respective strength and force.

With regard to that which we have affirmed, of the size and vast extent of that bank which was just now mentioned, as well as of the great quantities in general both of stones, of wood, and of earth, which are conveyed continually into the Pontus by these rivers, there is no man surely so weak in judgement, as to entertain any kind of doubt concerning the possibility of the facts. For we see that torrents, even not the most considerable in strength or violence, open deep trenches for their passage, and force their way even through the midst of mountains, carrying with them every kind of matter, earth, and stones; and so covering and filling up the countries over which they pass, that they are scarcely known to be the same, having assumed a face far different from their own. It cannot therefore be thought incredible or strange, that rivers of the largest size, and which also flow continually, should produce the effects which we have above described: and roll together such vast quantities of matter, as must in the end entirely fill the Pontus. For I speak not of it, as an event that is barely probable, but as of one that cannot fail to happen: of which this circumstance may

also serve as a kind of antecedent proof. As much as the waters of the Mæotis are now sweeter than the Pontus, so much sweeter also is the latter than the waters of our sea. Now from hence we may conclude, that when the time, in which the Mæotis was completely filled, and that which may be requisite for filling up the Pontus, shall stand in the same proportion to each other as the different greatness of their respective beds, the latter likewise will then become a fresh and standing lake, as the former is now known to be. But this indeed will happen so much sooner also in the Pontus, as the rivers which it receives are more in number, than those that fall into the Mæotis, and of larger size.

This then may be sufficient to satisfy the doubts of those, who are unwilling to believe, that the Pontus is now continually receiving a large increase of matter within its bed; and that in the course of time it must be entirely filled, and this great sea become a lake and stagnant marsh. From these reflections we may also learn to be secure against all the monstrous fictions, and lying wonders, which usually are reported to us by those that sail upon the sea; and no longer be compelled through ignorance to swallow greedily like children every senseless tale: but having now some traces of the truth impressed upon our minds, may be able to form always some certain judgement, by which we

may distinguish fact from falsehood. We now return again to describe the situation of Byzantium, from whence we made this digression.

The strait, which joins the Pontus with the Propontis, contains in length a hundred and twenty stadia, as we have already mentioned. The extreme limits of it are, on the one side towards the Pontus, a place called Hieron; and on the other, towards the Propontis, that space that lies between Byzantium and Chalcedon. Between these two boundaries, there is a promontory, called Hermæum, which advances far into the sea. It stands on the side of Europe, in the most narrow part of all the Strait: for the distance of it from the coast of Asia does not exceed five stadia. It was in this place, that Darius is reported to have laid a bridge across the sea, in his expedition against the Scythians. Now the water, coming from the Pontus, at first flows on in the same uniform and unbroken course, because the coast on either side is smooth and equal. But as it approaches near Hermæum, being now enclosed, as we have said, in the most narrow part of all the strait, and driven with violence against this promontory, it is suddenly struck back, and forced over to the opposite shore of Asia. From thence it again returns to the side of Europe, and breaks against the Hestiæan promontories. From these again, it is once more hurried back to Asia, to the place called Bos; where Io is fabled by the

poets to have first touched the land, when she passed this strait. And lastly, falling back again from Bos, it directs its course towards Byzantium: and there breaking into eddies, a small part of it winds itself into a Pool which is called, the Horn; while the rest, and greater part, flows away towards Chalcedon, upon the opposite shore, which however it in vain attempts to reach. For as the strait is in this part of a greater breadth, and because the strength also of the current has already been so often broken, it is now no longer able to flow, and to return in short and sharp angles as before; but falling away obliquely from Chalcedon, takes its course forwards along the middle of the Strait.

Now from hence it happens, that Byzantium, in point of situation, possesses great advantages, of which Chalcedon is entirely destitute: though, when we only take a view of these two cities, they appear to be in this respect alike and equal. But the truth is, that a vessel sailing towards Chalcedon, cannot gain the port without the greatest difficulty; while on the other hand, the current itself will waft us, even whether we will or not, into the harbour of Byzantium. For thus when any vessels attempt to pass from Chalcedon to Byzantium, as the current will not suffer them to cross the strait in a direct and even line, they first steer obliquely towards Bos and Chrysopolis; which last city was in former times possessed by the Athenians, who, by the

advice of Alcibiades, first exacted there a certain impost from all vessels that sailed into the Pontus; and from thence, committing themselves at once to the current of the water, they are conveyed without any pain or difficulty to Byzantium. Nor is the navigation less favourable and commodious, on the other side also of this city. For whether we are sailing from the Hellespont towards Byzantium before a southern wind, by taking our route along the shore of Europe, we perform the voyage with ease: or whether, on the contrary, we are carried by a northern gale from Byzantium towards the Hellespont, keeping still our course along the same coast of Europe, we enter without any danger the strait of the Propontis, between Sestus and Abydus; and may also return again with safety, in the same manner as before. But the people of Chalcedon are so far from being possessed of these advantages, that, on the contrary, they can never steer their course along their own proper coast, because the shore is full of bays and promontories, and the land of Cyzicus especially runs far out into the sea. In sailing therefore from the Hellespont towards Chalcedon, they are forced to keep close along the shore of Europe, till they arrive very near Byzantium: and from thence they first turn away, and direct their course across the strait, to gain their own harbour; which is indeed no easy task, by reason of the currents which have before been

mentioned. And thus again, when they design to sail from Chalcedon to the Hellespont, taking still their course along the shore of Europe, they are at no time able to steer directly over from their own port to the coast of Thrace: since, besides the current that obstructs their passage, they are also forced to struggle against those winds, which alike are contrary to the course that they would wish to take. For either they are driven by the south too far towards the Pontus; or, on the other hand, are turned from the direction of their route by the northern wind, which blows against them from that sea. Nor is it possible to sail from Chalcedon to Byzantium, or to return back again from the coast of Thrace, without being met by the one or other of these winds. Such then, as we have now remarked, are the advantages which the Byzantines derive from the situation of their city, with respect to the sea. We shall next consider also the disadvantages to which the same situation has exposed them, on the side towards the land.

As their country then is every way surrounded and enclosed, even from the Pontus to the Ægean Sea, by the barbarous tribes of Thrace, they are from thence involved in a very difficult as well as constant war. Nor is it possible, by any force which they can raise, that they should ever free themselves entirely from these enemies. For when they have conquered one, three other

states, more powerful than the first, stand ready to invade their country. And even though they should submit to enter into treaties, and pay heavy tributes, they still are left in the same condition as before. For the concessions, that are made to any single power, never fail to raise against them many enemies in the room of one. Thus are they worn and wasted by a war, from which they never can get free: and which, on the other hand, they are scarcely able to sustain. For what danger is so close and pressing, as a faithless neighbour? or what war more terrible, than that which is practised by barbarians? From hence it happens, that this people, besides that they are doomed to struggle against those calamities which are the usual consequence of war, are also exposed continually to that kind of torment, which Tantalus, among the poets, is feigned to suffer. For when they have employed great pains to cultivate their lands, which are by nature also very fertile, and the rich fruits stand ready to repay their labours; on a sudden these barbarians, pouring down upon the country, destroy one part, and carry away the rest: and only leave to the Byzantines, after all their cost and toil, the pain of beholding their best harvests wasted; while their beauty also adds an aggravation to the grief, and renders the sense of their calamity more sharp and unsupportable.

The Byzantines however, amidst all the di-

stress of these wars, the very continuance of which had rendered them perhaps in some degree more easy to be borne, never changed their conduct with respect to the states of Greece. But afterwards, when the Gauls, that were led by Comontorius, arrived also in their country, and began to turn their arms against them, they were then reduced at once to very great extremities. These Gauls were a part of that numerous army, which had left their native seats under the command of Brennus. But having happily escaped the general slaughter that was made of their companions in the neighbourhood of Delphi, and arriving near the Hellespont, they were so much charmed with the beauty of the country that lay round Byzantium, that they resolved to settle there, and not pass over into Asia. And having in a short time subdued the neighbouring inhabitants of Thrace, and fixed their seat of government at Tyle, they seemed to threaten Byzantium with the last destruction. The Byzantines therefore, in the first incursions that were made by Comontorius upon their country, paid sometimes three and five thousand, and sometimes even ten thousand pieces of gold, to save their lands from being plundered. And afterwards, they submitted to pay a yearly tribute of fourscore talents; which was continued to the time of Cavarus, who was the last of all their kings. For the Gauls were then conquered by the Thracians in their turn, and the whole race extirpated.

During this time, the Byzantines, unable to support the burden of these heavy tributes, implored assistance from the states of Greece. And when the greater part of these entirely slighted their solicitations, they were forced at last, through mere necessity, to exact a certain impost from all vessels that sailed into the Pontus. But the merchants, beginning soon to feel the loss and inconvenience that arose to them from this proceeding, exclaimed aloud against the injustice of it, and all joined to blame the Rhodians for permitting it: for these were at that time the most powerful people upon the sea. From hence arose the war, which we are now going to describe. For the Rhodians, being excited partly by their own particular loss, and partly by the wrong which their neighbours were forced also to sustain, having secured to themselves the assistance of their allies, sent ambassadors to Byzantium, and demanded that this impost should be abolished. But the Byzantines paid no regard to the demand: but on the contrary, adhered to the opinion of Hecatondorus and Olympiodorus, who were then the first in the administration of the city; and who maintained, in a public conference with the ambassadors, that what they had done was just and reasonable. The ambassadors were forced therefore to return, without having obtained the end of their commission: and the Rhodians immediately declared war against the Byzantines. They sent some deputies also to king Prusias,

whom they knew to be inflamed by an old resentment against the people of Byzantium; and pressed him to join his forces with them in the war. The Byzantines made on their part all the necessary preparations; and sent to demand assistance also from Attalus and Achæus. The first of these was heartily disposed to support their interests: but because he was now confined within the limits of his own hereditary kingdom by the victories of Achæus, his power was small and inconsiderable. But Achæus, who was at this time master of the countries that were on this side of mount Taurus, and who lately had assumed the regal title, promised to assist them with all his forces; and by this assurance, struck no small terror into Prusias and the Rhodians, while on the other hand he raised the courage of the Byzantines, and filled them with the fairest expectations of success.

This prince Achæus was nearly allied in blood to Antiochus, who at this time reigned in Syria: and had gained for himself the sovereignty of all those countries that were just now mentioned, in the following manner.

When Seleucus, the father of Antiochus, was dead, and the kingdom had devolved upon the eldest of his sons, who was also called Seleucus, Achæus being allied, as we have said, to the royal house, attended the young king in the expedition which he made into the provinces on this side of mount Taurus, about two years be-

of the war between the Rhodians and Byzantines.

The Byzantines, encouraged, as we have said, by the hope of that assistance which they expected from Achæus, at first performed their part with great alacrity and spirit. They sent to invite Tibites back from Macedon; imagining, that through his means, they should be able to excite some disorders in Bithynia, and involve Prusias in the same dangers and alarms, as those with which they were threatened by him. For this prince, having begun the war with all that vigour which his resentment had inspired, had already taken Hieron, which stood at the very entrance of the strait, and which the Byzantines, on account of its happy situation, had purchased not long before at a great expense; that from hence they might be able to protect the merchants that traded into the Pontus, and secure the importation of their slaves, together with the other traffic also of that sea. He made himself master also of that part of Mysia, on the side of Asia, which for a course of many years had belonged to the Byzantines. At the same time the Rhodians, having equipped six vessels of their own, and received four more from their allies, steered their course towards the Hellespont. And when they had stationed nine of the ships near Sestus, to intercept the vessels that should attempt to pass into the Pontus, Xenophantus,

who commanded all the fleet, sailed forward in the tenth, and approached near Byzantium; with design to try whether the Byzantines might be inclined by the sight of danger to desist from their first design. But perceiving that his expectations were in no way answered, he returned and joined the other ships, and with the whole fleet sailed back again to Rhodes. In the mean while the Byzantines pressed Achæus to join them with his forces: and sent some persons into Macedon, to bring away Tibites; who was the uncle of king Prusias, and was judged, on that account, to hold as fair a claim as the king himself to the sovereignty of Bithynia.

But when the Rhodians remarked the firmness, with which the Byzantines had resolved to carry on the war, they had recourse to a very wise expedient, by which they at last accomplished all their purpose. They saw that this great confidence, which the Byzantines had assumed, was founded only on the succours which they expected from Achæus. They knew likewise, that Andromachus, the father of this prince, had for some time been detained a prisoner at Alexandria, and that Achæus was very anxious for his safety. They formed therefore the design of sending an embassy to Ptolemy, to desire that Andromachus might be released. They had indeed before this time slightly urged the same request. But now they pressed it with the greatest earnestness; imagining,

that when Achæus should be indebted to them for a service so considerable, he must be forced in gratitude to consent to every thing that they should afterwards demand. When the ambassadors arrived, they found that Ptolemy was willing still to detain Andromachus, from whom he expected to draw great advantage, in the conjunctures that were likely to arise. For some disputes were now subsisting between Antiochus and himself. The power of Achæus likewise, who lately had declared himself an independent sovereign, was such as could not fail to bring considerable weight, in certain matters of importance. And this prisoner not only was the father of Achæus, but the brother also of Laodice, the wife of Seleucus. But on the other hand, as the king was strongly inclined to gratify the Rhodians in all their wishes, and to favour all their interests, he at last consented to deliver Andromachus into their hands, that they might restore him to his son. They restored him accordingly without delay: and having decreed also certain honours to Achæus, they at once deprived the people of Byzantium of their strongest hope. Tibites also died, as he was returning back from Macedon. This fatal accident, with that which had already happened, entirely disconcerted all the measures, and damped the ardour of the Byzantines. But Prusias on the contrary conceived new hopes; and maintained the war against them, upon the

coast of Asia, with great vigour and success: while the Thracians also, whom he had engaged into his service, pressed them so closely on the side of Europe, that they dared not even to appear without their gates. Perceiving, therefore, that all their expectations were destroyed and lost, and being harassed thus by their enemies on every side, they began now only to consider, by what means they might at last be disengaged from the war with honour.

Happily about this time Cavarus, king of the Gauls, came to Byzantium. And as he wished with no small earnestness, that these disputes might be accommodated, he employed his pains with such success, that both Prusias and the Byzantines consented to the terms that were proposed. When the Rhodians were informed of the zeal which Cavarus had shown to procure a peace, and that Prusias had submitted to his mediation, they were willing on their part also to put an end to the war; on condition however, that they should be suffered to accomplish their first design. They deputed therefore Aridices as their ambassador to Byzantium; and at the same time sent Polemocles with three triremes, to offer, as we express it, the spear or the caduceus, to the choice of the Byzantines. But on their first arrival, the peace was instantly concluded; Cothon, the son of Calligiton, being at this time Hieromnemon of Byzantium. With respect to the Rhodians, the terms were simply

these: "The Byzantines shall exact no impost from the vessels that pass into the Pontus. Upon this condition, the Rhodians and their allies will remain in peace with the people of Byzantium." With Prusias, the treaty was concluded in the words that follow: "There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Prusias and the Byzantines. The Byzantines shall not commit hostilities of any kind against Prusias, nor Prusias against the Byzantines. Prusias shall restore to the Byzantines without any ransom, all the lands and fortresses, the people and the prisoners, that have been taken or subdued. He shall restore the vessels also that were taken in the beginning of the war: together with the arms that were found in any of the fortresses; and all the timber, tiles, and marble, that were carried away from Hieron, or from the country round it." For Prusias, dreading the arrival of Tibites, had removed from all the fortresses whatever was fit for any use. It was added in the last place; "that Prusias should compel the Bythinians to restore all that had been taken from the men who were employed to cultivate the lands, in that part of Mysia which belonged to the Byzantines." Such was the beginning, and such the end of the war of Prusias and the Rhodians, against the people of Byzantium.

After these transactions, the Cnossians deputed some ambassadors to the Rhodians, and

requested that they would send to them the fleet that was under the command of Polemocles, together with three open boats. But when these vessels arrived upon the coast of Crete, the Eleuthernæans, suspecting that some mischief was designed against them, because one of their citizens had been killed by Polemocles to gratify the Cnossians, at first expostulated with the Rhodians concerning this proceeding, and afterwards declared war against them. Not long before this time, the Lyttians also were involved in the worst calamities of war. And indeed the whole isle of Crete had been lately made the scene of very great disorders, which were occasioned in the following manner.

The Cnossians and Gortynians, having joined together their forces, had made themselves masters of all the places in the island, Lyttus alone excepted. And when this single city still refused to submit, they resolved to conquer it by force, and to punish the inhabitants with the last destruction; that thus they might strike a terror into the rest of Crete. At first then, all the people of the island were engaged in this design, and turned their arms against the Lyttians. But after some time, jealousies and discontent, having sprung, as it often happens among the Cretans, from small and inconsiderable causes, grew at last to an open and declared dissension, and broke the force of this confederacy. For the Polyrrhenians, the Ceretæ, the Lampæans, the

Orians, and the Arcadians, separated themselves with one consent from their alliance with the Cnossians, and resolved to support the Lyttians. Among the Gortynians also, while the oldest men adhered still firmly to the Cnossians, the young men, on the other hand, contended with equal warmth, in favour of the Lyttians. The Cnossians, being greatly alarmed by this sudden revolt of all their chief allies, called in to their assistance a thousand mercenary soldiers from Ætolia. As soon as these arrived, the oldest men among the Gortynians, having first gained possession of the citadel, and received into it the Cnossians and Ætolians, killed or drove out all the young men, and delivered their city to the Cnossians. And not long afterwards, when the Lyttians had led out all their forces, to make incursions upon the territories of their enemies, the Cnossians, having received notice of their absence, marched in haste, and possessed themselves of Lyttus, when it was destitute of all defence. And having sent the women and the children away to Cnossus, they set fire to the city, pillaged, and razed it to the ground. The Lyttians, returning from their expedition, and perceiving what had happened, were so struck with consternation and despair, that not one among them had the courage to set his foot within the city. But when they had all marched round it, deploring with loud groans and lamentations the ruin of their country and their own

unhappy fate, they again turned back, and retired for refuge to the Lampæans. They were received by these with all marks of friendship and affection: and being thus in one day's time, from citizens become strangers, without laws or city, they continued afterwards to carry on the war against the Cnossians, in conjunction with the rest of the allies. Thus, in a manner most astonishing and strange, Lyttus, a colony from Lacedæmon, the most ancient city of the island, and whose people, descended from the Spartan race, were confessed to be the bravest of all that were produced in Crete, was at once sunk and lost in irrecoverable ruin.

The Polyrrhenians, the Lampæans, and the rest of the allies, having considered that the Ætolians, from whom the Cnossians had received their mercenary forces, were at this time engaged in war against the Achæans and king Philip, sent some deputies to these, to desire that they would enter into an alliance with them, and send some troops to their assistance. To this request both Philip and the Achæans readily consented: and having received them into the general confederacy, they sent soon afterwards to their assistance, four hundred Illyrians under the command of Plator, two hundred Achæans, and a hundred Phocæans. The Polyrrhenians, having obtained these succours, were now able to maintain the war with so great vigour, that they soon forced the Eleutherna-

ans, the Cydoniatæ, and the Apteræans, to keep close behind their walls; and at last compelled them to join their party, and desert the alliance of the Cnossians. After this success, they sent in return to Philip and the Achæans, five hundred Cretans; as the Cnossians also, not long before, had sent a thousand of their troops to the Ætolians; to assist them severally in the war in which they were engaged. The young men likewise, that had been driven from Gortyna, having gained possession of the port of Phæstia, and afterwards of their own harbour also, maintained their posts with the greatest intrepidity; and from thence carried on the war without remission against the old Gortynians that were masters of the city. Such was the condition of affairs in Crete.

About this time also, Mithridates began that war against the Sinopeans, which was indeed the source and first occasion of all those great calamities that afterwards befel this people. Upon this occasion they sent an embassy to Rhodes, to solicit some assistance. The Rhodians, having made choice of three among their own citizens, delivered to them a hundred and forty thousand drachmæ; that from thence the Sinopeans might be furnished with the stores that were necessary for the war. From this sum they were supplied with ten thousand casks of wine; three hundred pounds of twisted hair, and one hundred pounds of strings, all prepared for use;

a thousand suits of armour; three thousand pieces of coined gold; and four catapults, with some engineers. The ambassadors having received these stores, returned again in haste to Sinope. For the Sinopeans were now filled with the greatest apprehensions; and were persuaded that Mithridates would at once invest them both by land and sea. They hastened therefore to make such a disposition of their forces, as might secure the city on both sides against the danger of a siege.

Sinope is situated in a peninsula, which extends into the sea, upon the right side of the Pontus, as we sail towards the Phasis. It stands upon the isthmus of the peninsula; and covers the whole extremity of the land, in the part which is connected with the continent of Asia, and which contains about two stadia only in its breadth. The peninsula itself, as it falls down towards the coast, is all flat and open: but the borders of it, that are nearest to the sea, are rough, unequal, and very difficult of access. The Sinopeans therefore, being apprehensive that Mithridates would invest them on the side of Asia, and at the same time land some forces from the sea upon the opposite side, and possess himself of the open plain, together with all the posts that might command the city, began to fortify the circuit of the coast; driving sharp stakes into the ground, and throwing up intrenchments, in every part in which the enemy

could attempt to land; and distributing their machines and troops into all the advantageous posts. And indeed, as this peninsula is of very moderate extent, a small body of forces may at all times be sufficient for its defence. But we shall here leave the Sinopeans, and return again to the Social War.

CHAP. VI.

PHILIP, beginning his march from Macedon with all the forces, advanced towards Thessaly and Epirus, with design to enter that way into Ætolia. At the same time Alexander and Dorimachus, having conceived some hopes of being able to take Ægira by surprise, drew together a body of twelve hundred Ætolians to Oenanthia, a city of Ætolia, which stood opposite to the before-mentioned city: and having prepared some vessels for their transport, they waited for the proper time to pass the gulf, and carry their purpose into execution. For a certain soldier, who had deserted the service of the Ætolians, and for some time past resided in Ægira, having remarked that the guards, who were posted at the gate which opened on the side of Ægium, were often drunk with wine, and remiss in all their duty, had frequently importuned Dorimachus,

whom he knew to be singularly formed for conducting all such enterprises, to take advantage of this negligence, and to enter by surprise into the city. Ægira is situated in Peloponnesus, near the gulf of Corinth, between Sycion and Ægium, upon hills that are rough and difficult of access. It looks towards Parnassus, and the country that is extended round that mountain, on the opposite side of the gulf; and is distant from the sea, about seven stadia. When the proper time was come, Dorimachus, having embarked his forces, sailed away by night, and cast anchor in the river that ran near the city: and from thence, accompanied by Alexander, and by Archidamus the son of Pantaleon, he directed his march towards Ægira, by the way that leads from Ægium. At the same time the deserter also, who had formed the project, took with him twenty of the bravest soldiers; and having, by some private roads with which he was acquainted, gained the summit of the hills before the rest, he entered the city through an aqueduct, and finding all the guards buried fast in sleep, killed them even in their beds, broke the bars of the gates with hatchets, and set them open to the enemy. The Ætolians entered in crowds together, exulting in their success; and began to act as if the victory had already been their own. But this rash confidence proved afterwards the very cause of safety to the people of Ægira, and of destruction to themselves; who were foolishly persuaded, that

in order to be masters of a city, it was sufficient only to be within the gates. Under this belief, when they had kept together in a body for some little time in the public place, as the day began now to appear, they were no longer able to restrain their appetite, but spread themselves through all the city in search of plundre, and forced their way into the houses, to sack and pillage them. Those, therefore, of the citizens, who saw the enemy in their houses, before they had any notice of their approach, were struck with consternation, and fled in haste out of the city, not doubting but that the Ætolians were already masters of the place. But the rest, to whom the danger had not reached, being alarmed in time by the distant noise, ran together for their defence, and all took their way towards the citadel. And as their numbers grew continually, so their courage also and their confidence increased: while on the other hand the body of the Ætolians, from which many, as we have said, had fallen away, and dispersed themselves on every side in search of plunder, became more and more disordered and diminished. When Dorimachus therefore perceived the danger to which he was now exposed, having again collected all the troops together, he led them on towards the citadel; in the hope, that by one bold and vigorous effort he should strike the enemy with terror, and force them instantly to retreat. But the Ægirates, having encouraged each other by mu-

tual exhortations, sustained the charge with the greatest bravery. And as the citadel was not fortified by any wall, man with man, every one was engaged in close and single fight. The contest therefore was for some time such as might be expected from the condition of the combatants. For as the one were struggling in the last defence of their children and their country, so the others had no way to escape with safety, but by victory. At last, however, the Ætolians were constrained to fly: and the Ægirates, taking care to seize the very moment in which they first began to yield, pressed upon them with such force and fury, that the greater part were thrown down in heaps together at the gate, and were trodden under foot, in the haste and consternation of their flight. Alexander was killed in the action, and Archidamus stifled among the crowds, that pressed to gain their passage through the gate. The rest either fell in that disorder, or were hurried down the precipices, and there lost their lives. A small number only gained their ships, and were saved in a manner the most dishonourable; having thrown away their arms, and carrying nothing back but disappointment and despair. Thus the citizens of Ægira, by their courage and intrepid firmness, recovered again their country, which, through their negligence, they had almost lost.

About the same time Euripidas, who had been sent by the Ætolians to command the forces of

the Eleans, made incursions upon the lands of Dyme, Pharæ, and Tritæa; and having gained a very great booty, was preparing to return back again to Elis; when Micus, a Dymæan, who was also the lieutenant of the Achæan prætor, drew together the troops of all those provinces, with design to pursue the enemy, and harass them in their retreat. But as he advanced without sufficient caution, he fell into an ambuscade, in which forty of his men were killed, and two hundred taken prisoners. Euripidas, elate with this success, again led out his forces within some days afterwards, and made himself master of a fort called Tichos; which was situated near the promontory Araxus, in the Dymæan territory; and, as fables relate, was built in ancient times by Hercules; who used it as his citadel and place of arms in his wars against the Eleans.

The Dymæans, the Pharæans, and Tritæans, having suffered so considerable a defeat, and dreading likewise that they should now be exposed to greater danger, since this fort had fallen into the possession of the enemy, at first sent couriers to inform the Achæan prætor of what had happened, and to request some succours; and afterwards they deputed to him some ambassadors, to urge the same demand. But Aratus not only was unable to procure at this time any foreign troops, because the Achæans had neglected to discharge the stipends that were owing to their mercenaries from the time of the war

against Cleomenes, but was in general wholly unskilled to form the measures that were necessary in such conjunctures; and, in a word, betrayed the greatest want of courage and activity, in all things that related to the affairs of war. From hence it happened, that Lycurgus possessed himself of Athenæum, in the Megalopolitan territory; and Euripidas, besides his late success, took also Gorgon, a fortress situated in the district of Telphussa.

When the Dymæans therefore, the Pharæans, and Tritæans, perceived that no assistance was to be expected from the prætor, they resolved, that they would withdraw their share from the common contributions that were raised among the Achæan states, and maintain, at their own expense, three hundred foot and fifty horse, to cover their lands from the incursions of the enemy. But though this measure was, perhaps, both wise and proper, with respect to their own particular safety and advantage, it is certain that nothing could be more pernicious to the common interests of the republic. For by this conduct they gave not only the example, but furnished also a ready method and pretence to all that should, at any time, be inclined to break the general confederacy, and dissolve the union of the states. Yet it cannot be denied that, in justice, the blame must chiefly be imputed to Aratus; whose delays and negligence still frustrated the hopes of those who depended on him for assist-

ance. For though all men, in the time of danger, most willingly adhere to their allies, as long as any succours are to be expected from them; yet, on the other hand, when they find that they are deserted by those very friends upon whom they had fixed their hopes, they are then forced to have recourse to themselves alone for safety, and to employ such remedies as are within their power. The Tritæans therefore, and the rest may with good reason be excused, for having raised some forces at their own expense, when none could be obtained from the Achæans; but, on the other hand, they are greatly to be blamed that they refused any longer to contribute their proper share towards defraying the common wants of the republic. It was just, indeed, and necessary, that they should pay a due regard to their own immediate safety. But it was also no less reasonable that they should discharge, as the occasion then required, their duty to the states. And this was rather to be expected from them, not only because, by the laws of the confederacy, they were sure of being again repaid whatever they should advance for the common service, but because they had also borne the first and greatest part in establishing this form of government in Achaia. Such was the state of affairs in Peloponnesus.

In the mean while Philip, having advanced through Thessaly into Epirus, and being joined there by all the forces of the Epirots, together

with three hundred slingers from Achaia, and the same number of Cretans also that were sent to him by the Polyrrhenians, continued his march through the province, and arrived upon the confines of the Ambracian territory. If, at this time, he had passed forwards without delay, and fallen suddenly with so great an army upon the inmost parts of Ætolia, he might at once have put an end to the war. But having resolved, at the request of the Epirots, to lay siege first to Ambracus, he, by that mean, gave full leisure to the Ætolians to draw together their forces, and to form the measures that were necessary for their defence. For the Epirots, regarding rather their own particular advantage than the common interest of the allies, and being desirous to get Ambracus into their hands, had pressed the king with the greatest earnestness, that he would endeavour to reduce that place. Their intention was, to recover Ambracia from the Ætolians. But this conquest could never be obtained but by first gaining Ambracus, and making their attacks from thence against the city. For the place called Ambracus was a fortress of considerable strength, situated in the middle of a marsh, and secured by a wall and out-works. It was only to be approached by one narrow causeway, and commanded entirely both the city of Ambracia and all the adjoining country. Philip, therefore, yielded to their request, and having

fixed his camp near Ambracus, began to make the necessary preparations for the siege.

But while he was employed in this design Scopas, having drawn together all the Ætolian forces, directed his route through Thessaly, and made incursions into Macedon. And when he had ravaged all the open country in the district of Pieria, and had gained a very great booty, he continued his march from thence to Dium; and finding the place deserted by the inhabitants, he threw down the walls and all the houses, and razed the Gymnasium to the ground. He set fire also to the porticoes that stood round the temple; destroyed the sacred offerings that were designed either as ornaments of the place, or for the use of those who came to celebrate the public festivals; and broke all the images of the kings. And having thus, in the very beginning of the war, declared himself the enemy of the gods as well as men, he then returned back again to his country; and, instead of being looked upon with horror on account of these impieties, was, on the contrary, received by the Ætolians with honours and applause, and regarded as a man who, by his brave and vigorous conduct, was able to perform the greatest services to the republic. For himself, by his discourses, had so highly raised the confidence of all the people, that they were filled with new and eager hopes; and began to be assured that, after these exploits, no enemy would

dare so much as to approach the Ætolians; and that themselves might, on the contrary, hereafter pillage without resistance, not Peloponnesus only, as they had done in former times, but even Thessaly and Macedon.

When Philip was informed of all the outrages that had been committed in his kingdom, he perceived that he was justly punished for having yielded to the folly and ambitious spirit of the Epirots. He continued, however, still to press the siege of Ambracus. But when he had raised causeways in the marsh, and completed all the necessary works, the forces that were in the place were struck with terror, and surrendered to him after forty days. The king dismissed the garrison, which consisted of five hundred Ætolians, upon terms of safety; and gratified the Epirots in their wishes, by leaving the fortress in their hands. He then decamped, and continued his march in haste along Charada, with design to pass the Ambracian gulf, in that part which was the narrowest, and which lay near the temple of the Acarnanians called Actium. For this gulf, which flows from the sea of Sicily, is less than five stadia in its breadth, at its first entrance between Acarnania and Epirus. But advancing farther within the land, it spreads afterwards to the breadth of a hundred stadia, and extends in length to about three hundred from the sea. It divides Epirus from Acarnania, leaving the first on the side towards the north, and the latter on

the south. Philip then passed the gulf, in the place which we have mentioned, and continued his route through Acarnania. And having increased his army with two thousand Acarnanian foot, and two hundred horse, he came and encamped before Phoetiæ, a city of Ætolia, and pressed the siege with so great force and vigour that, after two days, the garrison, being struck with terror, surrendered upon conditions, and were dismissed with safety. On the following night five hundred Ætolians, ignorant of what had happened, began their march towards the place. But Philip, having received timely notice of their approach, posted some troops in ambuscade, and killed the greater part as they advanced. The rest were taken prisoners, a very small number only excepted, who saved themselves by flight. He then distributed among the troops an allowance of corn for thirty days from the stores that had been found in Phoetiæ; and continuing his march afterwards towards Stratus, he encamped upon the river Achelous, at the distance of ten stadia from the city; and from thence, sending out detachments from his army, wasted the whole country at his leisure, and found no resistance.

The Achæans, who were at this time scarcely able to support the burthen of the war, no sooner were informed that Philip was so near, than they deputed to him some ambassadors to request, that he would advance immediately to their

assistance. The ambassadors, when they had joined the king in the neighbourhood of Stratus, discharged their commission to him, agreeably to their instructions; and having represented also to him how vast a booty might be gained if he would now invade Elea, they pressed him to transport his forces over to Rhium, and to fall suddenly from thence upon that province.

The king, when they had ended, gave orders that they should not yet depart, and said, that he would deliberate with his friends concerning that which they had proposed: but at the same time he decamped, and began his march towards Metropolis and Conope. The inhabitants of Metropolis all left their houses upon his approach, and retired into the citadel. Philip therefore, having first set fire to the city, advanced forward to Conope. But when he approached the river that ran near the town, and which was distant from it about twenty stadia, a body of Ætolian cavalry appeared ready to dispute his passage; being persuaded, that they should either entirely stop the Macedonians from advancing, or that the attempt would be attended with considerable loss. But Philip, perceiving their design, gave orders that the peltastæ should first pass the river in separate divisions, closing all their ranks, and forming that figure which is called the tortoise. When this was done, and the first cohort had now gained the opposite side, the cavalry advanced against them and began the combat. But

as the Macedonians still stood firm, covering themselves with their shields in every part; and when the second and third divisions, having passed the river also in the same close order, came forwards to support the first; the Ætolians, perceiving that they fatigued themselves in vain, retreated back again towards the city: and from that time these haughty troops were forced to remain quite behind their walls.

The king then passed the river with the rest of the forces; and having wasted all the country without resistance, he arrived near Ithoria, a fortress that was strongly fortified both by art and nature, and which commanded the road along which the Macedonians were obliged to pass. The Ætolians that were left to guard it fled from their post as the king approached; and Philip, being thus master of the place, immediately razed it to the ground. He gave orders also to the foragers that they should, in like manner, destroy all the fortresses that were scattered through the country. Having then gained the end of these defiles, he continued his march slowly forwards, that the army might have leisure to collect the booty. And when the troops were loaded with supplies of every kind in great abundance, he directed his route towards the Achæan Oeniadæ. But having, in his way, encamped near Pæanium, he resolved first to make himself master of that city. He repeated, therefore, his attacks against it without any intermission; and,

in a short time, took the place by storm. Pæanium was a city not very considerable in size; for it was less than seven stadia in its circuit. But with regard to the houses, walls, and towers, it scarcely was inferior to any of the cities of that country. The king, having razed the walls to the ground, demolished likewise all the houses, and gave orders, that the timber and the tiles should be floated, with the greatest care, across the river to Oeniadæ. The Ætolians at first resolved to hold possession of the citadel of this last city, which was strongly fortified with walls and other works. But as the king approached they were struck with terror, and retired. Philip, having thus gained this city also, continued his march, and encamped before a fortress in the Calydonian district, called Elæus; which was not only very strong by nature, but was fortified also with a wall, and filled with all the necessary stores of war, which Attalus had sent to the Ætolians not long before. But the Macedonians, in a short time, took the place by storm; and when they had wasted all the Calydonian territory, they returned back again to Oeniadæ. The king, having then remarked that this city was situated with very great advantage, as well for other purposes as because it afforded also an easy passage into Peloponnesus, resolved to enclose it with a wall. For Oeniadæ is situated upon the coast, near the entrance of the gulf of Corinth, in the very extremity of those confines which divide the provinces of Acarnania and Ætolia. Oppo-

site to it, on the side of Peloponnesus, stands Dyme, with the country that lies round Araxus; and the distance between Oeniadæ and this promontory is so small that it does not exceed a hundred stadia. Philip, therefore, having carefully considered all these circumstances, began first to fortify the citadel; and afterwards having raised a wall round the docks and harbour, he resolved to join these also to the citadel, employing in the work all those materials which he had brought with him from Pæanium. But before he had completed this design he received the news, that the Dardanians, imagining that his intention was to advance forwards into Peloponnesus, had drawn together a numerous army, and were preparing to make incursions into Macedon. Judging it, therefore, to be necessary that he should provide without delay for the security of his own proper kingdom, he now sent back the ambassadors of the Achæans; having first assured them, that as soon as he had repelled this danger he would lay aside every other project and employ all his power to assist their state. He then decamped, and returned back again in haste along the same way by which he had arrived. As he was preparing to pass the Ambracian gulf, which separates Acarnania from Epirus, he was met by Demetrius of Pharos, who had been defeated in Illyria by the Romans, and had escaped in a single frigate, as we related in the former book. The king received him favourably, and directed him to sail on to Corinth, and

from thence to go, through Thessaly, into Macedon; while himself passed the gulf, and continued his march in haste through Epirus. But no sooner was he arrived at Pella than the Dardanians, having received notice from some deserters of his near approach, were struck with terror, and dismissed their army, though they had then advanced very near to the borders of the kingdom. Philip, being informed of their retreat, sent home likewise all the Macedonian troops to gather in their harvest; and himself went into Thessaly, with design to pass the rest of the summer at Larissa.

At this time it was, that Æmilius returned with conquest from Illyria, and entered Rome in triumph. About the same time Annibal having taken Saguntum by storm, sent his army into winter quarters. The Romans also, when they had received the news that Saguntum was destroyed, deputed some ambassadors to Carthage, to demand that Annibal should be delivered to them; and at the same time chose for consuls Publius Cornelius and Tiberius Sempronius, and began to make the necessary preparations for a war. We have already given, in the preceding book, a particular and distinct account of these transactions; and now mention them again, for the sake only of recalling to the reader's view, agreeable to the method which we promised still to observe, the chief events that were coincident with those which are now related.

CHAP. VII.

THUS then was ended the first year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad; and as this also was the time in which the Ætolians usually elected their chief magistrates, they now chose Dorimachus for their prætor. As soon as he was invested with this dignity he assembled the troops in arms, and making an incursion into the upper parts of Epirus, plundered and destroyed the country with a more than common rage and fury; being much less solicitous to gain any advantage to himself, than to work the greatest mischief that was possible to the Epirots. Arriving at Dodona, he set fire to the porticoes of the temple, destroyed the votive offerings, and levelled the walls of the sacred edifice with the ground. Thus the Ætolians disdained to be confined within the ordinary limits either of peace or war; pursuing still, in both conjunctures, their own rash and violent designs; and showing not even the least regard either to the laws of nations, or the established rights and customs of mankind. After this exploit Dorimachus returned back again to Ætolia.

The winter was now approaching fast, and no person had expected that the Macedonians

would at this time take the field, when Philip, advancing from Larissa, with three thousand chalcaspides, two thousand peltastæ, three hundred Cretans, and four hundred of the royal cavalry, passed from Thessaly into Eubœa, and from thence to Cynus, and continuing afterwards his route through Bœotia and the Megarisian district, arrived at Corinth in the very depth of winter; having performed his march with so much secrecy and diligence, that the people of Peloponnesus were all ignorant of his approach. He immediately shut the gates of Corinth, and placed guards upon the roads; and sent to invite the elder Aratus to come to him from Sicyon. He wrote letters also to the prætor of the Achæans, and to the several cities, to appoint the place and time in which he expected to be joined by the troops of the republic. He then marched away from Corinth, and encamped near Dioscurium in the Phliasian territory.

About the same time Euripidas, who knew not that the king had entered Peloponnesus, began his march from Psophis, with two cohorts of Eleans, some bodies of pirates, and some mercenary troops, amounting in the whole to two thousand and two hundred men, together with two hundred horse, and advanced by the way of Pheneum and Stymphalus towards Sicyon, with design to waste the country. And having, on that very night in which Philip had encamped near Dioscurium, passed beyond the army

of the king, he was ready just to enter the Sicyonian territory on the following day. But some Cretan soldiers, who had left their ranks, and wandered far into the country in search of forage, fell in among the Eleans as they marched. Euripidas, being informed by these that the enemy was near, changed immediately the direction of his route, and, not communicating to any person his knowledge of this accident, marched back again in haste by the way along which he had advanced; in the hope, that he might be able again to pass beyond the Macedonians, and to possess himself the first of certain mountainous defiles, that were on the other side of the Stymphalian district. The king, who on his part also was wholly ignorant of the arrival of these troops, pursued his first design, and continued his march forwards in the morning, by the way of Stymphalus towards Caphyæ. For this was the city, in which he had desired that the Achæans would meet together in arms. But when the advanced guards of the Macedonian army was just now ready to ascend the hill called Apeaurus, which was distant from Stymphalus about ten stadia, it happened that the foremost troops of the Eleans arrived also upon the same ascent. Euripidas, who, from the intelligence which he had received before, knew what the forces were that now appeared in sight, made haste to avoid the impending danger, and taking with him some few horsemen only, fled

through private roads to Psophis. The Eleans, being thus deserted by their chief, were struck with consternation, and for some time stopped their march, not knowing which way they should turn, or what measures were the best to take. For their officers were at first persuaded, that these were some Achæan forces, that had been drawn together to defend the country. This mistake was occasioned chiefly by the sight of the chalcaspides, whom they supposed to be the troops of Megalopolis. For in the battle against Cleomenes that was fought near Selasia, the Megalopolitans had all made use of brazen bucklers; having received their arms on that occasion from Antigonus. They retreated therefore, keeping their ranks entire, towards the neighbouring hills; and were still inclined to think, that they were not mistaken in their hopes. But when the Macedonians, as they continued to advance, approached more nearly to their view, they then soon discerned the truth, and, throwing away their arms, began to run with great precipitation. But twelve hundred of them were taken prisoners; and the rest either were destroyed by the Macedonian soldiers, or lost their lives among the precipices. About a hundred only escaped by flight. Philip sent away the spoils and prisoners to Corinth; and pursued his route, as he had at first designed. The people of Peloponnesus were all struck with wonder, at an event so strange and unex-

peeted by them: for they now first received the news together, both of the arrival of the king, and also of his victory.

The Macedonians continued their route through Arcadia: and having suffered great fatigue and hardship, as they passed the mountain called Oligyrtus, which was at this time covered deep with snow, they arrived in the night of the third day at Caphyæ. The king, when he had rested here during two whole days for the refreshment of the troops, and being joined also by the younger Aratus with the Achæan forces, so that the whole army now consisted of ten thousand men, again marched forwards, through the Clitorian district, towards Psophis; carrying with him all the machines and ladders, that were found in any of the cities through which he passed.

Psophis is a city of very high antiquity in Arcadia, being acknowledged to have been first built in ancient times by the Azanes. With regard to the whole of Peloponnesus, it is situated near the middle of the country. But with respect to the single province of Arcadia, it stands upon the extreme borders of it toward the west; and is on that side closely joined to the confines of Elea. It commands with great advantage the whole territory of the Eleans; and was at this time associated to their republic. Philip, arriving near this place in three days' march from Caphyæ, encamped upon the hills that stood

opposite to the city, and which afforded a safe and commodious view both of the place itself, and of all the neighbouring country. But when he had seen from hence the advantageous situation and uncommon strength of the city, he was for some time in doubt, what resolution he should take. For Psophis on the side towards the west, is secured by a rapid and impetuous torrent, which descends from the neighbouring hills, and in a short time forms for itself a channel very large and deep, which is not fordable in any place, during the greatest part of the winter season. On the eastern side flows the Erymanthus, a great and rapid river, the subject of many well known fables. And this river likewise receives the torrent just now mentioned, which falls into it on the side towards the south. Thus three sides of the city are completely covered by these waters, and guarded against all access. On the fourth side, towards the north, stands a hill, well fortified and enclosed with walls, and which serves indeed as a citadel to the city; being perfectly adapted, both by nature and by art, for sustaining the efforts of an enemy. The city itself was also secured by walls of an unusual height, completely built, and fortified with care: and was defended by a garrison of Eleans. Euripidas was also in the place, having saved himself in it after his flight.

When Philip had considered all these circumstances, he was in part inclined to abandon the

design which he had formed, to take the city either by storm or siege. But on the other hand, he was no less earnest to persist in the attempt, when he had again reflected upon the manner in which the place was situated. For as much as the Arcadians and Achæans were incommoded by this city, which pressed close upon the very confines of their country, and furnished the Eleans with the power to carry on the war against them with vigour and security, so much on the other hand would they be advantaged by it, if it should now be taken: since it would not only serve to cover their own lands from insult, but might be used also as a place of arms, from whence they might on their part make incursions into the Elean territory. The king therefore, having at last resolved to persist in his design, gave orders that the troops should take their usual repast, and hold themselves in readiness, by break of day. And when the morning came, he passed the Erymanthus, upon the bridge that was across it, without any resistance from the enemy, who were surprised at the attempt, and wholly unprepared against it. He then advanced towards the city in bold and terrible array. Euripidas and the rest were struck with doubt and consternation. For they at first had been persuaded, that the Macedonians would neither attack by storm a city of so considerable strength, nor yet venture on the other hand to engage in a long and regular siege, in

so severe a season. They were therefore thrown into great perplexity, and began to fear, that some persons in the city had entered into a secret correspondence with the king. But when no proofs appeared to confirm this apprehension, the greater part ran in haste to defend the walls; while the mercenaries also that belonged to the Eleans advanced through a gate that was above the enemy, with design to fall upon them by surprise. The king, having ordered the ladders to be fixed against the walls in three different parts at once, and divided the Macedonians also into three separate bodies, gave the signal for the attack. The troops then advanced together, and began to scale the city on every side. The besieged for some time maintained their ground with courage, and threw down many of the soldiers from the ladders. But as their store of darts and other weapons, provided only for the present exigency, soon began to fail; and when they also found, that the Macedonians were so far from being deterred by this resistance, that on the contrary no sooner was one man tumbled from the ladders, than the next that followed succeeded without any hesitation to his place; they at last turned their backs, and fled for safety to the citadel, while the Macedonians entered by the walls. At the same time also the Cretan troops attacked the Elean mercenaries with such vigour and success, that they forced them soon to throw away their

arms, and to fly in great disorder: and having pursued them to the very gate from whence they had made their sally, they entered it together with them. Thus the city was taken at once in every part. The Psophidians, with their wives and children, fled all into the citadel, together with Euripidas, and the rest that were able to escape. The Macedonians, being thus become the entire masters of the city, pillaged all the goods, and took possesion of the houses. But those that had retired into the citadel, being destitute of all supplies, resolved to prevent a worse misfortune, by submitting to the king. Having therefore dispatched a herald, and obtained permission to make a deputation to him, they sent their chief magistrates, together with Euripidas, by whose means a treaty was concluded, in which full safety was allowed to all, both citizens and strangers. The deputies then returned, having received orders from the king, that they should all still remain within the citadel, till the army had left the city; lest the soldiers, forgetful of their duty, should be tempted by the hopes of plunder to insult and pillage them.

The king, being forced by the snow, which about this time began to fall, to remain for some days in Psophis, assembled together the Achæans, and pointed out to them the strength and commodious situation of the place, and the advantages that might be drawn from it in the

progress of the war. He spoke largely also of the affection and warm esteem, which he had conceived for their republic: and added, that he would now give this city to them; and that in all future times he should be ready to employ his utmost power to gratify their wishes, and seize every occasion to advance their interests. After this discourse, which was received by Aratus and the Achæans with great acknowledgements, he dismissed the assembly, and began his march towards Lasion. The Psophidians then left the citadel, and again took possession of their houses: and Euripidas went away to Corinth, and from thence into Ætolia. The Achæan chiefs that were present in the place, left the care of the citadel to Proslaus of Sicyon, with a sufficient garrison, and appointed Pythias of Pellene to be governor of the city In this manner was ended the siege of Psophis.

The Eleans that were in garrison at Lasion, having been informed of all the circumstances of this conquest, no sooner heard that the Macedonians were advancing fast towards them, than they immediately left the place: and Philip, being thus become master of it upon his first approach, gave this city also to the Achæans, as a farther testimony of his regard for their republic. He restored Stratus likewise, from whence the Eleans in like manner had retired, to the people of Telphussa, from whom it had before been taken. He then decamped, and

arriving at Olympia after five days' march, offered sacrifice to the deity of the place, and feasted the chief officers of his army. And when he had allowed three days for the refreshment also of the troops, he advanced farther into the Elean territory, and having encamped near the place called Artemisium, and from thence sent out detachments from his army to collect the plunder of the country, he afterwards returned again to Dioscurium.

While the Macedonians were employed in ravaging the country, many of the Eleans fell into their hands, but a much greater number fled for safety to the neighbouring towns, and to places that were not easy to be forced. For Elea far exceeds all the other parts of Peloponnesus, both in the number of inhabitants, and in the natural riches also which are there produced. For there are many among this people, who are so fixed in the enjoyment of a country life, and so satisfied with the abundance of which they are possessed, that in the course even of two or three generations, they are never known to visit the capital of the province. This affection for the country is chiefly nourished by that high regard, which by the constitution of their government is shown to those that are settled in it. For justice is administered amongst them in every district; and great pains employed, that they may always be supplied with all things that are necessary to life. The motive that in-

clined their legislators first to invent such laws, and to give such attention to their safety, seems partly to have been, that the province was itself of very wide extent; but principally, because the inhabitants lived in ancient times a kind of holy life; when their country, on account of the Olympic Games that were celebrated in it, was regarded by the Greeks as sacred and inviolable, and the people all enjoyed a full repose, secure from danger, and exempted from the miseries of war. But afterwards indeed, when the Arcadians attempted to take Lasion from them, with the lands that lay round Pisa, the Eleans were then forced to have recourse to arms, and to change their former way of life. And since that time, they have not even made the least attempt to restore their country to those privileges of which they had been so long possessed; but have still remained in the condition, into which they were thrown by that invasion. But certainly in this respect they have been far from showing a due regard to their own future interests. For since peace is that blessing, which we all implore the gods to give us; since it is that for whose sake we bear to be exposed to every danger; since, in a word, among all the things that are esteemed good by men, there is none more generally acknowledged to deserve that name; it surely must be allowed to be a high degree of folly in the conduct of the Eleans, to refuse an acquisition of such value and im-

portance, which they not only might obtain from the states of Greece upon fair and honourable terms, but might hold possession of it also to all future times. Some perhaps may think, that if this people should again return to their former life, they must be exposed to the attempts of every enemy that should be inclined to violate treaties, and to fall by surprise upon their country. But as this would rarely happen, so the Greeks also would all join together to revenge the insult. And with regard to any private robberies, they might at all times be effectually secured against them: since, by the help of that abundance which the continuance of peace would of necessity bestow, they might with ease maintain some troops of mercenaries, to be employed as occasion should require. But now from having dreaded dangers that were never likely to arrive, they expose their goods to constant pillage, and their country to perpetual war. I could wish therefore, that these reflections might raise in the Eleans an attention to their proper interests; since they never will find a time more favourable than the present, to recover again an acknowledged confirmation of their rights, from all the states of Greece.

But though these immunities have been long since lost, the people, however, as we observed before, still retain some traces of their ancient manners, and especially of their attachment to a country life. Upon the arrival therefore of

Philip in the province, great numbers of them were taken prisoners by the Macedonians, and greater still escaped by flight. There was a fortress called Thalamæ, into which the chief part of the people had retired, together with their goods and cattle. The country round it was only to be entered by certain close defiles: and the place itself, besides that it was difficult of all access, was also judged to be impregnable. But the king being informed of the numbers that had fled together to this fortress, resolved to attempt and hazard every thing, rather than leave his work imperfect. He ordered the mercenaries therefore first to take possession of the posts that commanded the entrance of the passes. And having left behind him in the camp his baggage, with the greater part of all his army, he then marched through the defiles, with the peltastæ and the light-armed troops, and arrived in sight of the fortress, without resistance. The Eleans, who were wholly unprepared to sustain a siege, and unpractised likewise in all the art of war, and who at this time had among them great numbers of the very meanest of the people, were struck with terror at his approach, and immediately surrendered. Among the prisoners were two hundred mercenaries, which Amphidamus, the prætor of the Eleans, had drawn together from different countries, and had brought them with him to this place. The king, having gained a very great quantity

of valuable goods, with more than five thousand slaves, and cattle that scarcely could be numbered, returned again to his camp: and from thence, because the troops were so encumbered with their booty, that they were wholly unfit to engage in any new attempt, he directed his route back to Olympia, and there encamped.

CHAP. VIII.

ABOUT this time Apelles, who, among those that were appointed by Antigonus to be the guardians of young Philip, was possessed of the greatest sway in all the counsels of the king, formed the base design of reducing the Achæans to the same vile condition as that to which the people of Thessaly are subject. For though the Thessalians were still governed, in appearance, by their own peculiar laws, and seemed on that account to be distinguished from the Macedonians, yet in reality there was no difference between them. For both were equally obliged to yield strict obedience to the royal orders, and to submit without reluctance to all that was imposed. This man then, having regulated his project in his mind, began first to try the tempers of the Achæans that were now present in the army. He gave permission to the Mace-

donians, to dispossess them of their quarters, and defraud them of their booty. And afterwards, he ordered many to be scourged, upon the slightest pretexts: and when any of their companions interposed to save them, or showed any resentment of this treatment, himself conducted them to prison. By these means he was persuaded that the Achæans might insensibly be led to an entire and blind submission; and think nothing cruel or severe, which at any time they should be forced to suffer by order of the king. And yet he had seen not long before, when he was present in the army of Antigonus, that this very people exposed themselves to every danger, and seemed ready to encounter every hardship with the greatest firmness, rather than fall into subjection to Cleomenes. But some young Achæans, having run together in a body, went and disclosed to Aratus the whole of this design. Aratus, wisely judging that it was necessary to defeat such evils in their first commencement, ran in haste to Philip. The king, when he had heard him, ordered the young men to lay aside their fears; assuring them, that nothing of this kind should hereafter happen: and at the same time he strictly forbade Apelles to exact any thing from the Achæans, without the knowledge and consent of their own prætor. In this manner Philip, by his humane and gentle treatment of those that were with him in the camp, as well as by his courage likewise, and

activity in the field, not only gained the affections of the soldiers, but the favour also and esteem of all the people of Peloponnesus. And indeed we can scarcely find a prince, more admirably formed by nature, with all those talents that are requisite for enlarging conquests, and sustaining the weight of empire. For he was possessed of a ready and clear discernment; a happy memory; a gracefulness that was peculiar to all his actions; with such a dignity of aspect, as declared the monarch, and inspired respect and awe. His activity also in the field was never wearied, and his courage never daunted. By what means afterwards these noble qualities were all destroyed, and from whence it happened, that this prince, from a mild and gentle monarch, became at last a merciless and brutal tyrant, cannot be explained in a few words only. We shall take some occasion therefore more favourable than the present, to examine closely into the causes that produced so wonderful a change.

Philip having now decamped, continued his route from Olympia towards Pharæa, and from thence advanced to Telphussa, and afterwards to Heræa. In this place he sold his booty, and laid a bridge across the river Alpheus, with design to pass that way into Triphylia. About the same time Dorimachus the Ætolian prætor, being pressed by the Eleans to save their country from destruction, sent to their assistance six

hundred Ætolians under the command of Phylidas. When this general, arriving in Elea, had joined his troops with the forces that were at that time in the service of the Eleans, five hundred mercenaries, a thousand soldiers of the country, and a body of Tarentines, he from thence directed his march also towards Triphylia. This country, which derives its name from Triphylus a native of Arcadia, is a part of Peloponnesus, lying near the sea, between the provinces of Messenia and Elea. It looks upon the sea of Afric; and is situated in the extremity of all Greece, on the side of the south-west. The towns which it contains, are Samicum, Lepreum, Hypana, Typanæa, Pyrgus, Æpyum, Bolax, Stylagium, and Phrixa. The Eleans, having forced these towns to submit to their republic, added to them not long afterwards Aliphira likewise; which stood within the limits of Arcadia, and at first was subject to the Megalopolitans. But Alliadas, the tyrant of Megalopolis, in return for some personal advantages, surrendered it to the Eleans.

Phylidas, having entered this country with his army, sent away the Eleans to Lepreum, and the mercenaries to Aliphira; while himself with the Ætolians, remaining in the neighbourhood of Typanæa, attended to the motions of the Macedonians. Philip, being now disincumbered of his booty, passed the Alpheus, which flows close along the city of Heræa, and directed

his route to Aliphira. This city is built upon a hill, which is on every side steep and craggy, and more than ten stadia in its height. Upon the summit stands the citadel, and a brazen statue also of Minerva, of a very uncommon size as well as beauty. With what design it first was wrought, and at whose expense; the place from whence it came, and the person by whom it was here fixed and dedicated; are things that even the inhabitants of the country are not able to explain with certainty. But all acknowledge it to have been the work of Sostratus and Hecatodorus; and regard it as one of the most finished pieces, that ever were produced by those great artists.

The king, having waited for a day that was serene and bright, commanded the men whose task it was to carry the ladders, to advance first from different parts, with the mercenaries in front to cover them. The Macedonians, divided also into separate bodies, followed close behind: and were ordered, with the rest, to ascend the hill, as soon as the sun should begin to shine. The troops advanced accordingly with great alacrity and vigour; while the Aliphireans ran together in crowds to every side, from whence they saw the Macedonians ready to approach. At the same time the king, with a select body of soldiers, having climbed up certain precipices, ascended unperceived to the suburbs of the citadel. The signal was now given for the

assault; the ladders raised against the walls: and the troops began in every part to scale the city. But the king, having first gained possession of the suburbs, which were left without defence, immediately set fire to them. When those therefore, that were employed in defending the walls against the enemy, saw what had happened, they were seized with consternation; and began to fear, that if the citadel should be lost, there would be then left to them no resource. They abandoned therefore all their posts, and fled into the citadel; and thus the Macedonians became masters of the city, almost without resistance. Not long afterwards, a deputation was sent also from the citadel to the king, and the place delivered into his hands, on condition only that the people should be safe.

This conquest struck no small terror into all the people of Triphylia; and forced them to consult together, by what measures they might best preserve their country. About the same time also, Phylidas led away his troops from Typanæa, and retired to Lepreum; plundering all the province as he passed. For this was the reward, which the allies of the Ætolians seldom failed to receive; being either deserted by them in the time of their most pressing need; or else pillaged, and betrayed: and forced to suffer from their confederates and friends, such cruel treatment as could scarcely be expected even from a conquering enemy. As soon therefore as the

king approached, the inhabitants of Typanæa and of Hypana surrendered their cities to him. The Phialians also, being informed of all that had happened in Triphylia, and having been long desirous to shake off their alliance with the Ætolians, ran together in arms, and took possession of the place in which the polemarchs were accustomed to assemble. There were at this time some Ætolian pirates in Phialia, who had fixed their residence in the city, that from thence they might be able to make incursions upon the lands of the Messenians. These men, upon the first appearance of this commotion, had resolved to take arms and reduce the inhabitants by force. But when they saw, that the people all ran together in crowds, and were preparing to make a vigorous resistance, they abandoned their design, and, having obtained conditions for their safety, retired from the place, carrying with them all their baggage. The Phialians then sent some deputies to Philip, and invited him to take possession of their city.

During the time of this transaction, the inhabitants of Lepreum also, having possessed themselves of a certain part of the city, commanded the Eleans, the Ætolians, and the Lacedæmonians, who had likewise joined them, to retire both from the citadel and city. This demand, however, was at first entirely slighted. Phylidas still kept his post; and was persuaded, that he should be able to deter the Lepreates

from attempting any thing against him. But when he heard that Taurion, with one part of the Macedonian forces, had already gained possession of Phialia, and that the king himself was advancing towards Lepreum with the rest, he began at once to lose all hope, while the Lepreates on the contrary assumed new confidence. And though there were at this time in the place a thousand Eleans, with a thousand pirates and Ætolians; five hundred mercenaries, and two hundred Lacedæmonians; and though the enemy were masters of their citadel; yet so admirable was the spirit, and such the glorious constancy of this people, that they resolved on no account to yield to these invaders, or throw away the hope of being able to defend their country. When Phylidas, therefore, saw their firmness, and heard also that the Macedonians were just ready to approach, he at last left the city, together with the Lacedæmonians and Eleans. The Cretans, that had joined the troops of Sparta, returned back again to their own country through Messenia; while Phylidas, with the other forces, directed his route towards Samicum. The Lepreates, having thus recovered the entire possession of their country, sent some deputies to Philip, and surrendered their city to him.

As soon as the king was informed of these transactions, he sent the chief part of his army away to Lepreum, while himself with the pel-

tastæ and the light-armed troops, pursued the enemy, and, falling upon them in their retreat, made himself master of all their baggage. But Phylidas, having marched with the greatest haste, escaped safe to Samicum. Philip, therefore, encamped before the place; and, when the rest of his forces had advanced from Lepreum to join him, began to make such preparations, as threatened the inhabitants with the prospect of a siege. But the Ætolians and Eleans, being wholly unprepared to sustain a siege, and having nothing, but their hands only, to defend them, were struck with terror, and offered to surrender upon terms of safety; and having obtained permission to leave the city with their arms, they retreated to Elea. After this success, the neighbouring cities all sent their deputies to the king, and submitted to him at discretion. These were, Phrixa, Styllagium, Epyum, Bolax, Pyrgus, and Epitalium. Philip, having thus in the course of six days only reduced the whole province of Triphylia, returned again to Lepreum. And when he had first exhorted the inhabitants to remain steady in their duty, and had placed a garrison in the citadel, he marched away to Heræa with all his forces, leaving to Ladicus an Acarnanian the government of Triphylia. Arriving at Heræa, he there divided the booty among his soldiers: and having taken again the baggage, which he had left behind him in this place, he continued his route from

thence to Megalopolis, though it was now the depth of winter.

While Philip was employed in reducing the cities of Triphylia, Chilon, a citizen of Lacedæmon, who thought that his birth had given him the fairest title to the sovereignty of Sparta, being enraged that the ephori had slighted his pretensions, and bestowed that dignity upon Lycurgus, resolved to raise some disorders in the state. He flattered himself, that by following only the example of Cleomenes, and tempting the hopes and ambition of the multitude with the prospect of a new division of lands, he should at once draw all the people to his party. Having communicated his intention, therefore, to his friends, and engaged about two hundred of them to share in the danger with him, he made haste to carry his project into execution. As Lycurgus, and the ephori who had raised him to the kingdom, were the chief obstacles to his design, it was necessary that these should be first removed. He took the occasion therefore, when the ephori were at supper, and falling upon them by surprise, killed them at their table. Thus that punishment befel them, which was, in justice, due to their late transactions. For whether we consider the hand by which they fell, or the cause that drew this vengeance down upon them, they may well be thought to have merited their fate.

As soon as this work was finished, Chilon ran

in haste towards the house of Lycurgus. But though this magistrate was then at home, he found means, with the assistance of some friends and neighbours, to retire unperceived, and escaped through private roads to the town that was called Pellene of Tripolis. Chilon, having thus failed in the chief and most important part of his intended enterprise, began to lose all hope. But as there was now no room left to retreat, he advanced into the forum, killing all his enemies, and calling aloud to his friends to join him; inviting the people also to his party, by those hopes and promises that were just now mentioned. But when the citizens were so far from showing even the least regard to his pretensions, that, on the contrary, they began to run together in parties to oppose him, he secretly withdrew, and, passing through Laconia, fled unattended into the Achæan territory. The Lacedæmonians, being, at this time, also terrified by the near approach of Philip, removed all their stores from the open country; and abandoned likewise, the fortress of Athenæum in the Megalopolitan territory, having first razed it to the ground.

Thus this people who, from the first establishment of their state, under the laws of the wise Lycurgus, had enjoyed the fairest form of government, and flourished in great strength and power, to the time of the battle of Leuctra, began, after that period, gradually to decline from their former fortune, and to fall into contempt and

ruin. And having long been torn by intestine tumults and commotions, their peace being still disturbed by Agrarian laws, and their citizens driven into banishment, they at last were forced to bow to a succession of severe and haughty tyrants, to the time of Nabis, and to yield to all the miseries of the very vilest servitude; those, who, in ancient times, had been unable to support even the name of slavery. But there are many who have written very copious accounts of the former condition of this people, and of all their various fortunes; and with regard to the changes that have happened to them since Cleomenes first subverted the legal constitution of the state, we shall take occasion to relate, in the progress of this history, all those that were of chiefest note, and which best deserve to be remarked.

Philip now decamped from Megalopolis, and taking his route through Tegea, arrived at Argos, and passed the rest of the winter in that city; having obtained among all the Greeks the highest admiration and esteem, as well from his manners and whole deportment, as by those great actions also which he had now performed in war, beyond all that could be expected from a prince of such tender age.

During this time Apelles, who had not yet desisted from his project, was revolving in his mind the measures by which he might best be able to reduce the Achæans by degrees beneath the Macedonian yoke. As he saw that Aratus

and his son were likely to prove the greatest obstacles in the way of this design, and that Philip was inclined to pay no small regard to these two magistrates, especially to the eldest of them, not only because he had stood in high esteem and favour with Antigonus, and was a man of great authority among the Achæans, but chiefly on account of his ready talents and profound discernment in all the affairs of government; he judged it to be, in the first place, necessary that he should frame some contrivance by which he might destroy their credit with the king. With this view, having made inquiry after those Achæans who opposed Aratus in the government, he invited them to come to him from their several cities, and spared no kind of pains or flattery that might win their favour, and fix them in his interests. He then introduced them all to Philip; having first instructed each of them to insinuate to the king, that as long as he was guided by the counsels of Aratus he must be forced, in all things that related to the Achæans, closely to observe the terms of the alliance; but that, on the contrary, if he would submit his interests to the care of these new friends, he might soon, with their assistance, become the master of Peloponnesus, and govern the people by his own single will. When Apelles had thus far advanced in his design, his next care was to obtain, if it were possible, that one of this faction should be elected prætor of the Achæans;

by which means Aratus would entirely be excluded from the administration of the state. As the time, therefore, of the election now drew near, he pressed the king to go himself to Ægium, on pretence of marching that way into Elea. Philip yielded his consent, and Apelles, who was likewise present, partly by the force of threatenings, and partly by solicitation, prevailed at last, though not without great difficulty, and gained the point which he had in view. For Eperatus, a citizen of Pharæ, was elected prætor; and Timoxenus, supported by the interest of Aratus, was repulsed.

From Ægium the king began his march, and passing through Patræ and Dyme, arrived at Tichos, a fortress situated upon the extreme borders of the Dymæan territory, and which had been taken by Euripidas not long before, as we have already mentioned. The king, having resolved to employ his utmost power to recover again this place for the Dymæans, encamped before it with all his forces. But the Eleans that were posted in it were struck with terror and surrendered. This fortress was of no great size, being not more than a stadium and half in its circumference. But the strength of it was considerable; for the height of the walls was full thirty cubits. Philip restored the place to the Dymæans, and from thence made incursions into the Elean territory. And having wasted all the country, and gained a very great booty, he led his army back again to Dyme.

But Apelles, having thus far accomplished his design, and obtained a prætor of his own election, began now to renew his attacks against Aratus, in order wholly to remove him from the confidence of the king. For this purpose, he had recourse to a calumny, which was thus contrived. When Amphidamus the Elean general, who had been taken prisoner with the rest that had retired to Thalamæ, was conducted to Olympia, he employed the mediation of some friends, to procure admission for him to the king: and when he had gained a time of audience, he displayed in a long discourse the high authority and credit in which he stood among the Eleans, and assured the king, that he could easily engage that people to enter into an alliance with him. Philip, being prevailed on by these promises, immediately released Amphidamus, and sent him to the Eleans; with orders to assure them, that if they would embrace his friendship, he would restore to them all their prisoners without any ransom, and secure their province against all incursions; and that they still should live in perfect freedom, without garrison or tribute, and enjoy their own form of government. But, how generous soever and inviting these conditions might appear, the Eleans remained unmoved, and rejected all that was proposed.

Apelles seized on this refusal, as a proper ground for the calumny which he now contrived, and carried to the king. He told him,

that it might now be seen, how false were those professions of zeal and friendship, with which Aratus and his son had hitherto deceived him: that in their hearts they were far from being disposed to favour his pretensions, or promote the interests of the Macedonians: that the aversion which the Eleans had now shown towards him, was solely to be imputed to their arts and management: that when Amphidamus was sent from Olympia to Elis by the king, they had employed in secret all their pains, to convince him, that it was by no means for the advantage of the people of Peloponnesus, that Philip should become the master of the Eleans: and that from hence alone had sprung that haughtiness, and fierce disdain, with which this people had rejected all his offers, and had resolved to adhere to their alliance with the Ætolians, and still sustain the war against the Macedonians.

Philip, when he had heard this accusation, ordered Aratus and his son to be called before him. Apelles then repeated in their presence all the charge, urging it against them with a bold and threatening confidence. And as the king still kept silence, he added, that since they had shown themselves so thankless and ungrateful, and had so ill repaid the many favours which they had received from Philip, this prince had now resolved to call together the Achæan states, and, when he had explained to them the motives of his conduct, to return again to Ma-

cedon. But the eldest Aratus, beginning now to speak, besought the king, that he would by no means judge with passion, or give a hasty credit to the things which he had heard, without some previous examination and inquiry: that in every charge especially, that was directed against any of his allies or friends, it was proper first to weigh the evidence with the nicest and most scrupulous care: that such a conduct was not only worthy of a prince, but of the last importance also, with respect to his own interests and advantage. He desired, therefore, that those who had heard these matters, of which Apelles had accused them, might be called to the presence of the king: that Apelles also should attend, with the person from whom he had received his information: and in a word, that, before any complaint was made to the Achæan states, every method should be tried, by which it was possible to gain a knowledge of the truth. Philip approved of this advice; and having promised to pursue it, he then dismissed them.

Some days afterwards had passed, and Apelles had not yet produced the proofs that were desired, when an accident fell out, which proved of great advantage to Aratus. While Philip was employed in plundering the country of the Eleans, this people having conceived some suspicion of Amphidamus, resolved to seize, and send him as a prisoner into Ætolia. But Amphidamus gained early notice of their design,

and fled at first to Olympia. And being there informed that the king was gone to Dyme, to distribute the booty among his troops, he made haste to join him in the city. As soon as Aratus heard, that this general had escaped from Elis, and was arrived at Dyme, being conscious of his own innocence, he ran to Philip with great alacrity and joy, and requested that Amphidamus might immediately be called before him: that no one better knew the grounds of the charge that had been brought against him, than the man who had been a partner in the secret: and that on the other hand, it clearly was his interest to disclose the truth; since he had now been forced to leave his country on account of his attachment to the king, and had no hopes of safety but in his protection. The king consented to this request; and having ordered Amphidamus to be examined in his presence, he found that the accusation was in all points false. From this time, therefore, his affection for Aratus every day increased, and his attachment to him became stronger than before; while Apelles on the contrary sunk low in his esteem. But his mind had been now so long possessed with prejudice in favour of this minister, that it forced him still to overlook, upon many occasions, the errors of his conduct.

In the mean while Apelles, not being in any degree deterred by what had happened from persisting still in the same designs, made his

next attack against Taurion, who was intrusted with the care of the affairs of Peloponnesus. He charged him, however, with no kind of crime; but on the contrary spoke largely in his praise; and represented to the king, what great services might be expected from a man of such abilities, if he were present in the camp. But his intention was, to bestow this charge upon some person of his own appointment. For this is one of those new methods, contrived by men of bad designs: to destroy the fortunes of their neighbours, not by detraction, but by praise, An artifice, replete with malignant rancour, and the basest treachery; invented first in the courts of princes, to be the instrument of jealousy and sordid avarice; and employed solely to promote the purposes of those, who strive to rise upon the ruins of another. He seized every occasion also that was offered to censure Alexander, the captain of the guards; having resolved to fill this post likewise with another of his own election: and in a word, to change, if possible, the whole disposition which Antigonus had made. For Antigonus, not only while he lived, had governed Macedon and the young prince himself with the greatest prudence, but left behind him also at his death such wise provisions, as seemed most proper to secure the future ease and safety of the kingdom. He explained to the Macedonians in his will, the measures which himself had followed in the affairs of government; and

prescribed the plan of the administration for the time to come; naming the persons also, to whom he left the conduct of the state, and allotting severally to each his proper post; that he might thus cut off at once all pretence for jealousy, and remove every incitement to sedition. By these directions, Apelles was appointed guardian to the prince; Leontius, general of the infantry; Megaleas, the chief secretary; Alexander, captain of the guards; and Taurion, the commander, to preside in Peloponnesus. Among these, Leontius and Megaleas were already in all points devoted to Apelles. The great object therefore of his present care, was to remove Taurion and Alexander from their posts; by which means the whole administration of the government would fall into his own hands entire, or into the hands of those who possessed his confidence. And this design must soon have been accomplished, if he had not raised against himself an enemy in Aratus. But that wrong policy defeated all his measures; and drew after it the punishment that was justly due to his imprudence and insatiable ambition: so that within a short time afterwards, he was himself involved in those calamities which he had prepared for others. In what manner this misfortune happened to him, we shall at present forbear to mention, having brought this book to its conclusion. But in that which follows, we shall take occasion to give a clear account of this

event, with all the circumstances that attended it. Philip, after these transactions which we have now related, returned to Argos, to pass the winter there together with his friends, and sent the forces back to Macedon,

BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER I.

THE year of the prætorship of the younger Aratus was just now ended with the rising of the Pleiades; for in this manner the Achæans computed the course of time. This magistrate, therefore, resigned his office, and was succeeded by Eperatus. Dorimachus was prætor of the Ætolians. About the same time Annibal, as the summer now approached, having declared without reserve his intention to make war against the Romans, led his forces from New Carthage, passed the Iberus, and continued his march towards Italy; while the Romans sent on their part Tiberius Sempronius with an army into Afric, and Publius Cornelius into Spain. At the same time also Ptolemy and Antiochus, who both claimed the sovereignty of Cœlesyria, having lost all hope of being able to settle their pretensions by embassies or treaties, prepared to end the dispute by arms.

Philip, beginning now to be in want both of provisions and of money to support his troops, desired the Achæan magistrates to give orders

for assembling the council of the states. But when these were met together at Ægium, according to the laws of the republic, the king, perceiving that Aratus, stung with the disgrace which he had received in the late election through the bad practices of Apelles, was inclined rather to oppose than advance his service, and that on the other hand, Eperatus was by nature destitute of all those talents that are requisite for the conduct of affairs, and was also held in great contempt by all, was then fully sensible of the folly of those measures which Apelles and Leontius had engaged him to pursue, and resolved to recover again the confidence and favour of Aratus. He prevailed, therefore, with the magistrates to remove the assembly of the states to Sicyon; and having there addressed himself in private both to the elder and the younger Aratus, and charged Apelles with the blame of all that had been transacted, he pressed them to resume their former sentiments. To this request they both readily consented; and the king, through their pains and influence, obtained afterwards from the assembly the full accomplishment of all that he desired. For by the decree that now was made, the states engaged to pay to him fifty talents, on the day when he should first begin his march; to furnish three months' stipend for the troops, with ten thousand measures of corn; and to pay also seventeen talents monthly, during his stay in Peloponnesus. After these resolutions, the

assembly separated, and the Achæans returned again to their several cities.

The king, when he had drawn all the troops together from their winter quarters, and had held a consultation with his friends, resolved now to carry on the war by sea. For as by this method he might himself be able to fall suddenly upon his enemies from every side; so these, on the other hand, must wholly lose the power of sending any assistance to each other; separated, as they were, in remote and distant provinces, and alarmed by apprehensions for their own particular safety, against an enemy to whose motions they would then be strangers, and whose descent upon their country might be made with no less celerity than secrecy; for the people against whom he was now engaged were the Ætolians, the Lacedæmonians, and the Eleans. Being fixed, therefore, in this design, he drew together to Lechæum all the vessels that belonged to the Achæans, together with his own; and gave orders that the soldiers should be employed continually in the exercise of the oar. The Macedonians submitted to the task with the greatest promptness and alacrity. For these troops, whose courage in the field stands firm against every danger, are not less useful and intrepid upon the sea, whenever occasion demands their service. Active also, and inured to the perpetual toil of digging trenches, and of fortifying camps, they reject no kind of military labour;

but are, on the contrary, as Hesiod writes of the Æacidæ, "more pleased with battles than with feasts."

But while Philip and the Macedonians were thus busy in completing all the naval preparations, Apelles, perceiving that the king was no longer governed by him as before, and being unable to support the loss of his authority, formed secretly an engagement with Leontius and Megaleas, by which it was agreed, that these two, still remaining near the king, should be ready, as occasion served, to frustrate all his counsels, and obstruct his measures; and that himself, in the mean while, would go to Chalcis, and take care to stop all supplies that were expected to come that way. When this wicked project was thus concerted, Apelles, having by some false pretences obtained permission to depart, went accordingly to Chalcis; and there, with the help of that authority which had grown from his former credit with the king, he so well performed his part in this base and treacherous engagement, that Philip was at last reduced to an entire want of necessaries, and forced even to set his plate in pawn, in order to procure a subsistence from it.

As soon as the fleet was ready, and the troops all perfect in their exercise, the king, having first distributed some corn and money among his army, sailed out to sea, and arrived in two days at Patræ. The forces that were with him were

six thousand Macedonians, and twelve hundred mercenaries. About the same time, Dorimachus, the Ætolian prætor, sent away five hundred Neocretans, under the command of Agelaus and Scopas, to the assistance of the Eleans. The Eleans also, being apprehensive that Philip would attempt to besiege Cyllene, drew together some troops of mercenaries, trained the forces of the country, and fortified the place with care. Philip, therefore, having been informed of all these preparations, resolved to leave in Dyme the Achæan mercenaries with the Cretans; some Gallic horse, and two thousand men, selected from the infantry of the Achæans; as well to support himself, if there should be occasion for it, as to cover and secure the country against the attempts of the Eleans. And having sent his orders to the Messenians, the Epirots, Acarnanians, and to Scerdilaidas, that they should complete the equipment of their vessels, and join him at Cephallenia, he then sailed away from Patræ to that island at the time appointed, and cast anchor near a little town called Proni. But because the country round it was close and difficult, and the place not easy to be invested, he continued his course forwards to Palæa, and perceiving that this part of the island was full of corn, and promised a plentiful subsistence to his army, he disembarked all his forces, and there encamped. And having drawn his ships to land, and thrown up an intrenchment round them, he sent away the troops to gather in the corn; while

himself surveyed the city from every side, in order to discover in what manner he might best advance his works, and plant his machines against it; designing, when the allies had joined him, to use his utmost efforts to become master of the place. For by this conquest, as the Ætolians would, on the one hand, be deprived of a place that was of great importance to them; since their custom was, to make descents from hence in Cephallenian vessels upon the coast of Peloponnesus, Acarnania, and Epirus; so on the other hand, the king and his allies, when they had gained this post, might fall with great advantage upon the country of their enemies. For Cephallenia lies opposite to the Corinthian gulf, extending towards the sea of Sicily. It joins closely upon the north and western coasts of Peloponnesus, being nearest to Elea, and looks also towards the south and western sides of Epirus, Acarnania, and Ætolia. The king, therefore, perceiving that the island was situated with so great advantage, as well for assembling the allies, and covering all their lands from insult, as for invading also the provinces of the enemy, was impatient to attempt the conquest of it. And because Palæa was almost every way secured by precipices, or the sea, and was only to be approached by a small and narrow plain, that looked towards Zacynthus, he resolved to advance his works upon that side only, and to fix there the whole business of the siege.

While Philip was thus employed in forming the

measures that were necessary for the attack, he was joined by fifteen vessels sent by Scerdilaidas; who was prevented from sending any greater number by some commotions that had happened in Illyria among the chiefs of the country. The Epirots also joined him, together with the Acarnanians and Messenians. For as Phigalea now was taken from the Ætolians, the Messenians had no longer any pretence for refusing their assistance in the war.

When all things were ready for the siege, and the balistæ and the catapults disposed in every place from whence they might with best success repel the efforts of the enemy, the king, having exhorted the Macedonians to be strenuous in their duty, ordered them to approach the walls, and to open a mine under cover of the machines. The Macedonians pursued their task with so great diligence and ardour that the walls were in a short time undermined to the length of about five hundred feet. Philip then approached the city, and pressed the inhabitants to accept conditions from him. And when his offers were rejected, he set fire to the timber that supported that part of the wall which was undermined. The wall immediately fell down; and the peltastæ, who were commanded by Leontius, being divided into cohorts, were ordered to force their way through the breach, and to storm the city. But this general, remembering the engagement into which he had entered with Apel-

les, though three young soldiers had already passed the breach, stopped them from advancing, and would not suffer the city to be taken. And as he had before corrupted also the chief among the officers, and himself at this time likewise, instead of leading on the troops with vigour to the charge, appeared struck with consternation, and spread his fears into the rest, the Macedonians were at last repulsed, though they might without much difficulty have made themselves masters of the place. The king, when he perceived the cowardice of the generals, and that many of the soldiers also were disabled by their wounds, was forced to raise the siege, and to deliberate with his friends concerning the measures that were next to be pursued.

About this time Lycurgus entered the province of Messenia with an army; while Dorimachus, with one half of the Ætolian forces, made an incursion also into Thessaly; being persuaded that by this diversion they should draw away the Macedonians from Palæa. The Acarnanians and Messenians, alarmed by the approach of the enemy towards them, sent some deputies to the king, and entreated them to raise the siege. The Acarnanians pressed him to remove the war at once into Ætolia, and thus, by wasting all the country, which was now left without defence, to constrain Dorimachus to return again, before he had entered Macedon. The Messenians, on the other hand, importuned him with

no less earnestness, to march to the assistance of their country; representing to him, that as the Etesian winds had now begun to blow, he might pass in one day's sailing from Cephallenia to Messenia, and fall upon Lycurgus before he could receive any notice of his approach. This was the advice which was urged by Gorgus, the chief of the Messenian deputies. Leontius also, pursuing still his first design, supported it with all his strength; being well assured that no measures could more effectually obstruct the progress of the war. For it was easy indeed to transport the army to Messenia, but it was not possible to return again till the season of these winds was passed. The Macedonians, therefore, confined within the limits of that province, must have been forced to waste the whole summer in inaction; while the Ætolians, on the other hand, might have plundered Thessaly and Epirus, and destroyed all the country at their leisure. So pernicious were the counsels which these men recommended to the king.

But Aratus, who was present, opposed this sentiment; and advised the king to advance without delay into Ætolia; since, while Dorimachus was absent with the forces, it would be easy to run through all the province, and to plunder it without resistance. Philip, who before was much dissatisfied with Leontius, on account of his ill conduct in the siege, and who began also to suspect some treachery, from the

advice which this minister had so warmly urged with respect to the course that was now most proper to be taken, resolved to yield to the opinion of Aratus. He sent orders, therefore, to Eperatus, that he should draw together the Achæan forces, and march to the assistance of the Messenians; while himself steered away from Cephallenia with the fleet; and after two days' sailing arrived at Leucas in the night. From thence, having before made all things ready for his design, he passed his vessels over the neck of land called Dioryctus into the Ambracian gulf, which, as we have already mentioned, flows from the sea of Sicily, and enters far into the inland parts of Acarnania. He then steered his course up the gulf; and arriving at Limnæa before break of day, gave orders that the soldiers should take their usual repast, and leave behind them likewise all their heavy baggage, that they might not be incumbered in their march. He called together also all the guides; and informed himself with great exactness of the nature of the country, and of the strength and situation of the neighbouring cities.

In this place he was joined by Aristophantus the prætor of the Acarnanians, with all the forces of the country. For the people of this province had long wished with the greatest earnestness for some occasion to revenge the insults which they had in former times received from

the Ætolians. As soon, therefore, as the king arrived, they all took arms; not those alone that were obliged to it by the laws, but many also of the older men, whose age had exempted them from service. The Epirots, who had also been exposed to the same injurious treatment from the Ætolians, were on their part animated likewise with the same resentment. But because the arrival of the king was sudden, and their country also of great extent, they wanted the leisure that was necessary for assembling together the forces of the province. With regard to the Ætolians, Dorimachus, as we have aleady mentioned, had taken with him one half of their troops; being persuaded that the rest would be sufficient to defend the country, in his absence, against all surprise.

The king, having left his baggage behind him with a proper guard, began his march from Limnæa in the evening; and when he had gained the distance of about sixty stadia, he ordered the troops to take their supper; and having allowed a short time for their repose, he again set forwards, and continuing his march all night, arrived before break of day upon the river Achelous, between Stratus and Conope. His intention was to fall suddenly upon the place called Thermum, before the inhabitants could be able to receive the news of their approach. Leontius clearly saw, that this design must inevitably be attended with success, and that all the efforts

of the enemy would be vain and useless. For besides that the arrival of the Macedonians was so quick and unexpected, the Ætolians also, having never entertained the least suspicion that the king would throw himself with so great confidence into the very middle of a country that was strong and difficult, were wholly unprepared to resist a danger, of which they had conceived no apprehensions. Reflecting, therefore, upon these two circumstances, and being constant to the engagement into which he had entered with Apelles, he pressed the king to encamp upon the river Achelous, that the troops, who had marched all night, might enjoy some rest, and be recovered again from their fatigue. His intention was, that the Ætolians might from thence gain time to make the preparations that were necessary for their defence. But Aratus on the other hand, well knowing how soon, in all such enterprises, the favourable moment might be irrecoverably lost, and perceiving also that the purpose of Leontius was plainly to obstruct the progress of the war, urged the king to proceed without delay, and not suffer the occasion to escape. Philip, who was already much displeased with the whole conduct of Leontius, approved of this advice; and having passed the river, continued his route in haste towards Thermum, burning and destroying the country as he marched. Leaving on the left hand Stratus, Thestia, and Agrinium; and on his right, Ce-

nope, Lysimachia, Trichonium, and Phœteum; he arrived at a town called Metapa, which was situated in the entrance of those passes that led along the lake Trichonis, and was distant from Thermum about sixty stadia. The Ætolians fled from the place upon his approach, and the king posted in it a body of five hundred men, as well to cover his entrance as to secure also his retreat back again through the passes. For the country that lay along the borders of the lake was rough and mountainous, and covered all with woods, so that the passage through it was extremely close and difficult. Philip entered the defiles; placing in his van the mercenaries, behind these the Illyrians, and after them the soldiers of the phalanx. The Cretans closed the rear. The Thracians and the light-armed forces were disposed upon the right, and marched with equal pace, but at some distance from the main body. The left was covered by the lake, to the length of thirty stadia. Having gained the end of the defiles, they came to a village that was called Pamphia. The king, when he had posted a body of troops in this place also, continued his march forwards towards Thermum, through a road that was not only very steep and rough, but surrounded on all sides likewise by lofty precipices, so that in many parts it was not to be passed without great danger. The whole height also of the ascent was almost thirty stadia. But the Macedonians pursued their way with so great

diligence and vigour that they soon gained the summit, and arrived at Thermum, while it was yet full day. The king fixed his camp near the city, and from thence sent away the troops to ravage all the villages and neighbouring plains. They pillaged the houses of the city likewise; which were not only filled with corn, and every kind of necessaries, but with great quantities of rich and costly furniture. For as this was the place in which the Ætolians celebrated every year their games and markets, and held also their assemblies for electing magistrates, they always laid up in it the most valuable of all their goods for the use of these solemnities, and the more splendid reception of their guests. They were persuaded likewise that their riches could no where be deposited in a place of greater safety. For such was the strength and situation of this city that it was considered as the citadel of all Ætolia. And, indeed, before this time no enemy had ever ventured to approach it. The long peace also which the country had enjoyed had afforded both the leisure and the means to heap together all that various wealth and plenty which now filled the houses that were round the temple, and all the neighbouring parts.

The Macedonians, having gained an immense booty, in the evening reposed themselves in their tents. On the following day they selected from the plunder whatever was of greatest value, and most easy to be removed; and burned the rest

in heaps before the camp. They took likewise all the arms that were fixed round the porticoes of the temple, and reserving the most splendid of them as their prize, exchanged some others also for their own. The rest, which were in number more than fifteen thousand, were all consumed in fire. Thus far nothing had been done that was contrary to justice, or repugnant to the laws of war. But what censure must we pass on that which followed? Urged by the remembrance of those cruel ravages which the Ætolians had committed at Dium and Dodona, they now set fire to the porticoes of the temple, and destroyed the votive offerings; among which there were some that were the work of most exquisite art, and finished at a great expense. Nor were they satisfied with burning the roofs only of the sacred edifice, but even razed the temple to the ground. They threw down also all the statues, which were not fewer than two thousand; breaking many of them in pieces, and sparing those alone that bore the names or the resemblance of the gods. They then wrote upon the walls that celebrated verse which was one of the first productions of the dawning genius of Samus the son of Chrysogonus, who was the foster-brother of the king:

Remember Dium: thence this shaft was sped.

The king himself, and those that were about him, promoted all this violence with a kind of frantic

zeal and fury; being persuaded, that it was no more than a just and suitable retaliation and revenge for those impieties which the Ætolians had before committed. But in my judgement their conduct upon this occasion is very greatly to be blamed. Whether my sentiments are just or not, may be judged from those examples which may be found in the same royal house of Macedon. When Antigonus, after he had defeated Cleomenes in battle, and forced him to leave his kingdom, became master of Sparta, so that the city and the vanquished citizens were wholly in his power; he was so far from treating them with any kind of rigour or severity, that, on the contrary, he established them again in perfect freedom, and restored to them their laws and ancient government; and when he had displayed his generosity and clemency, as well in many particular instances, as in the favours also which he conferred in general upon their state, he returned back to Macedon. From this conduct he was then called the benefactor, and, after his death, the preserver of that people; and gained immortal fame and honour not only among the Lacedæmonians, but from all the states of Greece. That Philip also, who first enlarged the bounds of the Macedonian empire, and spread wide the splendour of this house, when he had defeated the Athenians in the fight of Chæronea, obtained much more by his humane and gentle conduct after the victory, than he had gained by his

arms. For by these he subdued indeed the enemies that were in arms against him; but by his gentleness and moderation he vanquished all the Athenians, and forced Athens itself to receive his laws. Instead of making his resentment the rule and measure of his conquests, he, on the contrary, pursued his victories no longer than till he had found a fair occasion to display his clemency and his love of virtue. He restored the prisoners, therefore, without any ransom; allowed the rites of funeral to the soldiers that had fallen in battle; sent Antipater to Athens with their bones; and gave habits also to the greater part of those that were released. And thus, by his wise and dexterous conduct, he accomplished with a small expense the greatest purposes. For the haughty spirit of the Athenians was so perfectly subdued by this generous treatment, that from enemies they were changed at once into the most zealous and hearty friends, ready to favour all his interests, and to assist in all his designs. What again was Alexander's conduct upon a like occasion? Incensed as he was in so high a degree against the people of Thebes, that he ordered all the inhabitants to be sold for slaves, and the city to be levelled with the ground, yet so far was he from neglecting that duty which he owed the gods, that, on the contrary, he employed the greatest care that no offence should be committed, even through accident, against the temples, or other consecrated places. At the time

of his expedition, likewise, into Asia, to revenge the atrocious insults which the Persians had committed against the states of Greece, he punished the people, indeed, with such severity as their crimes demanded, but spared the places that were dedicated to the gods; though the Persians, on the contrary, when they invaded Greece, had made all these the special objects of their rage.

Such then was the conduct which Philip should have kept continually in view; and have made it clear to all mankind that he inherited not the kingdom only, but the generous disposition also, and heroic greatness of his ancestors. But though he, at all times, employed great pains that men should know that he was allied in blood to Alexander and to Philip, he never showed the least solicitude to emulate their virtues. His reputation, therefore, as he advanced in age, was as different from the fame which those princes had enjoyed, as his manners and his life were different. This difference was clearly seen in the instance of his present conduct. Blinded by resentment, he thought it no crime to repay the devastations which the Ætolians had committed, with the like impious outrages, and thus to remedy one evil by another. In every place, and upon every occasion, he was eager to reproach Dorimachus and Scopas with all the violence and horrid sacrilege of which they had been guilty at Dium and Dodona; but

seemed never to have apprehended, that while he was pursuing the same impious course, the same censure likewise must fall upon himself. For though, by the established laws of war, it is not only just but necessary to destroy citadels and cities, ships and harbours, the fruits also of a country with the inhabitants, in order to weaken the strength and power of our enemies, and to increase our own; yet, on the other hand, when men extend their fury to those objects whose destruction neither can procure the least advantage to themselves, nor any way disable their opponents from carrying on the war against them, when they burn especially the temples of the gods, break all their statues, and destroy their ornaments, what must we say of such a conduct, but that it is the mere effect of an entire depravity of manners, the work of senseless rage and madness? For the design of making war among those at least that are of virtuous disposition, is by no means to exterminate the people from whom they have received an injury; but to lead them only to a change of conduct, and to engage them to amend their faults; not to involve the innocent and the guilty in the same perdition, but rather to exempt them both from ruin. To this we may also add, that it is the part of a tyrant only, who hates his subjects, and is hated by them on account of his wicked actions, to exact by force and terror a reluctant and constrained obedience; while a king, who is wise and mo-

derate in his conduct, humane and generous in his manners, obtains the hearts of all his people, who regard him as their friend and benefactor, and submit with cheerfulness to his commands.

But in order to conceive in the clearest manner the whole extent of that mistake which Philip now committed, let us consider what would have been the sentiments of the Ætolians in case that he had pursued a different conduct; and had neither burned the porticoes, broken the statues, nor destroyed any of the offerings that were round the temple. For my own part I am persuaded that they must have regarded him as a most humane and virtuous prince. Conscious as they were of all those outrages which they had committed at Dium and Dodona, and knowing also that Philip had, at this time, all things in his power, and that, in treating them with the last severity, he would have done no more, with regard to themselves at least, than what was just and reasonable, they must surely have considered his moderation, in this respect, as a noble effort of a great and generous mind. In this view, while they condemned their own proceedings, they, on the other hand, would have bestowed on Philip the highest admiration and applause; whose virtue, so worthy of a king, had taught him not only to preserve the duty which he owed the gods, but to set the bounds also to his own just resentment. And, indeed, to conquer enemies by generosity alone and justice, is far more

advantageous than any victory that is gained by arms. For the submission of men to these arises wholly from necessity and force; to the former it is free and voluntary. The conquest also, in the one case, is often very dearly purchased; but in the other, the offenders are prevailed upon to return again to a better conduct, without any expense or loss. And what is still of greater moment, the subjects must be allowed to claim the chief part of the success that is obtained by arms; whereas the prince alone reaps all the glory of a victory that is gained by virtue.

But some, perhaps, may think that as Philip was at this time extremely young, he ought not in justice to be charged with all the guilt of these transactions; but that the blame should chiefly be imputed to those that were the nearest in his confidence, especially to Aratus and Demetrius of Pharos. Now with regard to these, it is no hard task to judge, even though we were not present at their deliberations, which of the two it was that urged the king to all this violence. For besides that Aratus, in every action, was distinguished by his caution and deliberate judgement, while Demetrius, on the contrary, was no less noted for his imprudence and precipitate rashness; there happened afterwards an instance not unlike the present, from which we shall be able to discern, beyond all doubt, what must have been, upon such occasions, the sentiments and conduct of these two persons. But this must be

reserved for its proper place. We now return from this digression.

CHAP. II.

THE king, taking with him every thing that could be carried or removed, began his march back again from Thermum, by the same way by which he had arrived; placing at the head the booty, with the heavy-armed forces, and the Acarnanians with the mercenaries in the rear. He resolved to pass through the defiles with the quickest haste; not doubting but that the Ætolians would take advantage of the difficulty of the way, and fall upon him in his retreat. And this, indeed, soon happened. The people had met together in arms, to the number of about three thousand men, under the command of Alexander of Trichonium. While the king remained upon the eminences, they kept themselves at a distance, and lay concealed in obscure and covered places. But as soon as the rear of his army had begun to move, they entered Thermum and from thence advanced, and fell upon the hindmost troops. The mercenaries that composed the rear were thrown by this attack into no small confusion; while the Ætolians, perceiving the disorder, and being emboldened by

the advantage of the ground, pressed the charge with greater vigour than before. But Philip having foreseen this accident, had taken care, as he descended, to post behind a certain hill a body of Illyrians, with some select men from the peltastæ; and these now falling suddenly upon the enemy, who had advanced beyond them and were following the pursuit with eagerness, killed a hundred and thirty of them, and took almost an equal number prisoners. The rest fled with great precipitation, and escaped through difficult and unfrequented roads. After this success the rear, setting fire to Pamphia as they marched, passed the defiles with safety, and joined the rest of the army, who were encamped near Metapa, expecting their arrival. The king razed this city to the ground, and the next day advanced to a town called Acræ. On the following day he again decamped, and wasting all the country as he passed, arrived near Conope, and rested there during one whole day. He then continued his march along the river Achelous towards Stratus. And having passed the river, he for some time stopped his march, at a distance that was beyond the reach of the darts, and offered the troops that were within the city the opportunity of a battle. For he had heard, that three thousand Ætolian infantry, and four hundred horse, together with five hundred Cretans, had thrown themselves into the place. But when they all remained close behind the walls, he continued

again his route towards Limnæa, where his vessels lay. But scarcely had the hindmost troops passed beyond Stratus when some of the Ætolian cavalry sallied out, and began to disturb the rear. These at first were but few in number; but as they soon were followed by a part also of their infantry, and the Cretan forces, the battle then grew warm, and the troops that were in march were forced to face about to repel the enemy. The contest was for some time equal. But when the Illyrians were ordered also to return, and support the troops that were engaged, the Ætolians, both infantry and cavalry, turned their backs, and fled together in great disorder. The king followed closely even to the very gates, and killed about a hundred of them. After this attempt, the Ætolians remained quiet within the city; while the rear pursued their march with safety, and joined the rest of the army, and the vessels.

The king, being now encamped at ease, made a solemn sacrifice of thanks to the gods for the success of his late enterprise, and invited his officers to a feast. For all men had considered it as an attempt of the greatest hazard, that he should thus throw himself into a country of such uncommon strength and difficulty, and enter places into which no troops before had ever dared to penetrate. Yet Philip not only entered them without any loss, but accomplished likewise all that he designed, and had brought his army back

again with safety. His joy therefore, was extreme; and in this disposition he prepared to celebrate his banquet.

But Leontius and Megaleas beheld this happy fortune with no small affliction and concern. Faithful still to their engagement with Apelles, they had employed every art to obstruct the war, and frustrate all the counsels of the king. But so far were they from being able to accomplish their design, that, on the contrary, this prince had now obtained the utmost of his wishes. They came, however, to the banquet, but with hearts so filled with heaviness that the king, with the rest that were present with him, began immediately to suspect that they were strangers to the general joy. And indeed when in the progress of the feast the guests all had drunk to great excess, and these also were compelled to fill their glasses with the rest, they at last threw aside the mask, and showed their sentiments without disguise. For no sooner was the banquet ended than their reason being disordered, and their senses lost in wine, they ran every way to seek Aratus. And having found him returning from the feast, after many insults and reproaches they assaulted him with stones. A party soon was formed on either side, and the disorder began to spread through all the camp. The king, being alarmed by the noise, sent some persons to inquire into the causes of it, and to compose the tumult. Aratus related to them the fact as it

had happened; and appealed to the testimony of all that had been present, and then withdrew to his tent. Leontius also found some means to slide away unnoticed through the crowd. But Megaleas and Crinon were conducted to the king; who, when he had heard the account of what had passed, reprimanded them with great severity. But so far were they from being humbled by it to any degree of submission or acknowledgement, that, on the contrary, they added an aggravation to their fault, and told the king that they never would desist from their design, till they had taken full vengeance upon Aratus. The king, being greatly incensed at this daring insolence, immediately condemned them to pay a fine of twenty talents, and commanded them to be led away to prison. And, on the following day, having ordered Aratus to be called, he exhorted him to take courage; and assured him that the authors of this disorder should be punished with due severity.

When Leontius was informed of what had happened to Megaleas, he took with him a body of the peltastæ, and went, thus attended, to the tent of the king: being persuaded that he should easily intimidate this young prince, and force him to recall his orders. Being admitted, therefore, to his presence, he demanded, "who it was that had been so bold as to lay hands upon Megaleas? and by whose orders

he was sent to prison?" The king replied intrepidly, "By mine." Leontius was then struck with terror; and muttering to himself some threats, retired.

The king now sailed away with all the fleet, passed the gulf, and arrived in a short time at Leucas. And when he had given orders to the proper officers to make a distribution of the booty among the troops, he called together his friends, to pass judgement on Megaleas. Aratus, who was present as the accuser, ran through the whole administration of Leontius and his friends. He charged them with some flagrant murders that were committed by their orders, after Antigonus had retired from Greece. He laid open the engagement into which they had entered with Apelles; with the manner also in which they had defeated the king's designs, when he attempted to take by storm the city of Palæa. In a word, he showed the guilt of these transactions with so much clearness, and supported all that he affirmed by such convincing evidence, that Crinon and Megaleas, unable to refute the charge, were with one voice condemned. The former was still detained in prison: but Leontius offered himself as surety, for the fine that was imposed upon Megaleas. Such was the unexpected issue of the treacherous project into which these men had entered. They had persuaded themselves that it would be an

easy thing to remove Aratus by some violence; and when the king was thus left destitute of friends, that they might afterwards pursue such measures as their own interest should require. But the event proved opposite to all their hopes.

During this time, Lycurgus had been forced to abandon the Messenian territory, without performing any action of importance. But some time afterwards he again took the field, and made himself master of the city of Tegea. He attempted also to reduce the citadel, into which the inhabitants had all retired. But after some fruitless efforts he was constrained to raise the siege, and to return back again to Sparta.

The Eleans made also an incursion into the Dymæan territory: and having drawn into an ambuscade some cavalry that was sent against them, they defeated them with little difficulty, killed many of the mercenaries, and, among the forces of the country, took prisoners also Polymedes of Ægium, and Agesipolis and Megacles, citizens of Dyme.

Dorimachus, as we before have mentioned, had advanced into Thessaly with the Ætolians; being persuaded, that he not only might be able to ravage all the country without resistance, but should also draw away the king, by this diversion, from the siege of Palæa. But when he saw that Chrysogonus and Petræus had

brought together an army to oppose him, he never dared to descend once into the plain, but continued his route close along the sides of the mountains. And no sooner was he informed that the Macedonians had entered the Ætolian territory, than he immediately abandoned Thessaly, and returned in haste back again, with design to defend his country. But he was wholly disappointed in that hope: for the enemy had left the province before he was able to arrive.

Philip now sailed away from Leucas, and having wasted the coast of the Hyantheans as he passed, arrived at Corinth with all the fleet, and cast anchor in the harbour of Lechæum. He there disembarked his army; and when he had first sent letters to the confederate cities of Peloponnesus, to appoint the day, in which their forces should be ready in arms, and join him at Tegea, he immediately began his march towards that city with the Macedonians, and taking his route by the way of Argos, arrived there on the second day: and being joined by such of the Achæan forces as were then assembled in the city, he continued his march along the mountains, with design to fall upon the Lacedæmonian territory, before the people could receive any notice of his approach. Passing, therefore, through those parts of the country that were chiefly destitute of all inhabitants, he appeared, after four days' march, upon the

hills that stand opposite to Sparta; and from thence, leaving Menelaium on his right, he advanced forwards to Amyclæ. The Lacedæmonians, when they beheld this army from the city, were struck with consternation and surprise. Their minds, indeed, had been alarmed not long before, by the news of the sack of Thermum, and of all the devastation which the Macedonians had committed in Ætolia: and the general rumour was, that Lycurgus would soon be sent to the assistance of the Ætolians. But they never had conceived the least suspicion, that the danger, in so short a time, could arrive close to Sparta, from a distance so considerable; especially, as the king was at this time of an age, which was apt rather to inspire contempt than fear. As the event, therefore, was so contrary to all their expectation, it could not fail to strike them with the utmost terror. And, indeed, so greatly had the courage and the activity of this prince surpassed all that his youth could promise, that his enemies in every place were filled with solicitude and anxious doubt. For marching, as we have already mentioned, from the middle of Ætolia, and having passed, in one night's time, the Ambracian gulf, he arrived at Leucas; and when he had staid two days, on the third sailed early in the morning; and, wasting the coast of Ætolia as he passed, cast anchor at Lechæum; and from thence marching forwards without delay, he

gained, upon the seventh day, the neighbourhood of Menelaium, and the hills that overlooked the city of Sparta. So astonishing was this celerity, that those who themselves beheld it, could scarcely give credit to their eyes. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, were distracted with suspense and wonder, and knew not what measures were the best to be pursued.

The king, on the first day, fixed his camp near Amyclæ, which is distant from Lacedæmon about twenty stadia. The country round it is distinguished above all the other parts of Laconia, by the excellence and rich variety of the trees and fruits with which it every where abounds. On the side of the city towards the sea, stands a temple of Apollo, more sumptuous and magnificent than any in the province. On the next day, he decamped; and, destroying the country as he passed, arrived at the place that was called the camp of Pyrrhus. On the two following days, he wasted all the neighbouring places, and came and encamped near Carnium; and from thence continuing his march to Asine, attempted to take the city. But, after some fruitless efforts, he again decamped, and ravaged all the country, on the side towards the sea of Crete, as far as Tænarium. From thence, taking his route back again, and leaving, on his right hand, the port called Gythium, which is distant from Lacedæmon about thirty stadia, he encamped

upon the frontiers of the Helian district, which is the largest and most beautiful of all the parts into which Laconia is divided. And having, from this place, sent his foragers abroad, he destroyed the fruits, and wasted all the country round Acriæ and Leucæ; and from thence extended his incursions even to Bœa.

The Messenians, as soon as they had received the orders of the king, that they should join him with their forces, showed no less diligence and zeal, than the rest of the allies; and having selected, among all the people of their province, two thousand of the bravest foot, with two hundred horse, they began their march towards Tegea. But, because the route was of a very considerable length, it happened, that Philip had left the city, before they were able to arrive. For some time, therefore, they were in doubt what resolution they should take. But when they had considered, that, as some suspicions had been before conceived against them, their delay upon this occasion likewise might perhaps be imputed to a designed and wilful negligence, they, at last, continued their march through the Argian territory towards Laconia, in order to join the Macedonians. When they arrived near Glympes, a fortress that was situated upon the extreme borders of Laconia and of Argia, they there encamped; but without any kind of skill or caution. For they neither employed their pains to choose the

most commodious ground, nor threw up any intrenchment round their camp; but trusting to the favourable disposition of the people, reposed themselves in full security before the walls. But Lycurgus being informed of their approach, took with him the mercenaries, and a part also of the Lacedæmonian forces, and beginning his march from Sparta, arrived at the place before break of day, and fell with great fury upon their camp. The Messenians, though they had shown before so little prudence in all their conduct, and especially in having marched from Tegea when their numbers were so few, and in opposition also to the advice of the wisest men among them, were careful, however, at this conjuncture, to have recourse to the only measures by which they could now obtain their safety. For as soon as the enemy approached toward them, they immediately left all their baggage, and fled into the fortress. The baggage, therefore, with many of the horses, fell into the hands of the enemy. Eight soldiers also of the cavalry were killed. The rest all escaped with safety; and retreated back again through Argia, to their own country. Lycurgus, elate with this success, returned to Sparta, to complete the preparations for the war. And when he had held a consultation with his friends, he resolved that Philip should not be permitted to leave the country till he had first been forced to try the fortune of a battle.

The king now decamped from the Helian district, and wasting the country on every side, arrived again, after four days' march, in the neighbourhood of Amyclæ with all his army, about the middle of the day. Lycurgus, having in concert with his friends and officers regulated all the plan of the intended battle, marched out of the city with two thousand men, and took possession of the posts round Menelaium. At the same time he ordered those that were left in the city carefully to observe the time, and, as soon as they should perceive his signal, to lead out their troops from many parts at once, and range them in order of battle, with their front turned towards the Eurotas, and in the place in which that river flowed nearest to the city. Such was the disposition of Lycurgus and the Lacedæmonians.

But lest the reader, from being unacquainted with the country of which we are speaking should be lost in error and uncertainty, we shall here point out the nature of the several places, with the manner in which they are situated: agreeably to the method which we have still observed in the course of this work; comparing always, and bringing close together, the parts that are unknown, with those that are already known, and which have been before described. For since, in reading the recital of engagements both by land and sea, the want of having gained a perfect knowledge of the peculiar face and disposition of the scene of action, often proves

the occasion of great mistakes; and because my design in all which I relate, is not so much to show what actions were performed, as the manner in which they severally were transacted; I think it necessary to illustrate all great events, and especially those of war, by describing the places in which they happened, and distinguishing them by some precise and accurate marks; either by harbours, seas, and islands; or else again, by the temples, mountains, and countries that are near; but chiefly by their position with respect to the quarters of the heavens, because this distinction is of all others the most commonly received and understood. For this, indeed, is the only method, as we have observed before, by which the reader ever can acquire a right conception of those countries to which he is a stranger.

Sparta, then, if we consider it in its general figure and position, is a city in a circular form, standing in a plain. But the ground, in certain parts that are within the circuit of it, is rough and unequal, and rises high above the rest. Close before the city, on the side towards the east, flows the Eurotas; a river so large and deep that during the greatest part of the year it is not to be forded. Beyond this river, on the south-east side of the city, are those hills upon which stand Menelaium. They are rough, and difficult of ascent, and of a more than common height: and command entirely all the ground

between the river and the city. For the river takes its course along the very border of the hills: and the whole space from thence to Sparta does not exceed a stadium and a half in breadth.

Such was the defile through which Philip, as he returned, must be forced to pass; having on his left hand the city, with the Lacedæmonians ranged in battle and ready to engage; and on his right, the river, and Lycurgus, with the troops that were posted upon the hills. But besides these difficulties, the Lacedæmonians, in order more effectually to obstruct his passage, had stopped the course of the river, at some distance above the ground which we have mentioned, and forced the waters to flow over all the space that lay between the city and the hills; so that neither the cavalry nor infantry could march that way with safety. The Macedonians, therefore, had no means left for their retreat but to lead their army close along the very foot of the hills. But as they must then have marched with a very narrow and contracted front it would scarcely have been possible to resist the efforts of the enemy. When Philip had considered all these difficulties, and had held a consultation also with his generals, he judged it necessary that Lycurgus should be first dislodged from his posts upon the hills. Taking with him therefore the mercenaries, the peltastæ, and the Illyrians, he passed the river,

and advanced towards the enemy. When Lycurgus saw what the king designed he exhorted his troops to perform their duty, and prepared them for the combat. At the same time he gave the signal also to those that were in the city; who immediately drew out their forces and ranged them in order of battle before the walls, with the cavalry upon their right. Philip, as he approached nearer to Lycurgus, first sent the mercenaries against him, to begin the action. The Lacedæmonians, therefore, who were superior in the advantage of their arms, and from the situation also of the ground upon which they stood, for some time maintained the fight with the fairest prospect of success.

But when Philip ordered the peltastæ to advance, and support the troops that were first engaged, while himself with the Illyrians prepared to fall upon the enemy in their flank, the mercenaries, encouraged by this assistance, pressed the charge with greater vigour than before; while the Lacedæmonians, being struck with terror at the approach of the heavy-armed forces, turned their backs and fled. About a hundred of them were killed in the place; and more than that number taken prisoners. The rest escaped safe into the city. Lycurgus himself, with a small number of attendants, retreated through some private roads, and entered the city also in the night. Philip having posted the Illyrians upon the hills, from whence

he had dislodged the enemy, returned again to join the rest of the army, with the peltastæ and the light armed troops.

During this time, the phalanx had begun their march from Amyclæ under the conduct of Aratus, and were now arrived near the city. The king, therefore, passed the river with the light-armed forces, the peltastæ, and a body of cavalry, in order to sustain the attack of the Lacedæmonians, till the heavy-armed troops, who continued their march along the sides of the hills, should have passed through the defile with safety. The Lacedæmonians, advancing from the city, charged first the cavalry of the king. But, as the action soon became more general, and was sustained by the peltastæ with the greatest bravery, the victory was again wholly turned to the side of Philip, who drove back the Lacedæmonian cavalry, and pursued them even to the gates. He then passed again the river, and closing the rear of all the phalanx, continued his march forwards, without any loss.

He had just now gained the end of the defile, when the night suddenly came on, and forced him to encamp, without advancing any farther. It happened, that the place which the guides were thus compelled, as it were by accident, to mark out for the encampment, was that very ground, which an army would take by choice, if their intention was to pass beyond the city of

Sparta, and to make incursions upon the Lacedæmonian territory. For it was situated at the extremity of this defile of which we have been speaking, in the road which leads to Lacedæmon, not only from Tegea, but from all the inland parts of Peloponnesus, and stood close upon the border of the river, at the distance of two stadia only from the city. The side that looked towards the river and the city, was covered by steep and lofty precipices, which were almost inaccessible. And above these rocks, was a level plain, which abounded both with earth and water, and was also so disposed, that an army might at all times enter it, or retire again with safety. In a word, whoever has once gained possession of this plain, with the precipices likewise that are round it, not only may remain secure against all attacks from the side of Sparta, but is the master also of every thing that enters or returns through the defile.

Philip, having here fixed his camp, in full security, on the following day sent his baggage away before, and then drew out all his forces in order of battle, upon the plain, in sight of the city. And, when he had stood for some time in that disposition, he then turned aside, and directed his route towards Tegea. Arriving at the place, in which the battle had been fought between Antigonus and Cleomenes, he there encamped: and, on the following day, when he had first viewed all the neighbouring

posts, and offered sacrifice to the gods upon the mountains Eva and Olympus, he strengthened the rear of his army, and continued his march forwards to Tegea: and, having there sold all his booty, he passed from thence through Argos, and arrived at Corinth. In this place he was met by some ambassadors from Rhodes and Chios, who came to mediate a peace. The king, dissembling his intentions, assured the ambassadors, that he had been always strongly inclined, and still was ready, to put an end to the war; and dismissed them, with orders, that they should employ all their power to lead the Ætolians into the same sentiments. He then went down to Lechæum, designing to sail from thence to Phocis, in order to carry into execution in that province some designs of great importance.

CHAP. III.

AT this time, Leontius, Megaleas, and Ptolemy, being persuaded that they should yet be able to intimidate the king, and by that means obliterate all their former crimes, dropped whispers of sedition among the peltastæ and the soldiers of the guard: and represented to them, that while they alone of all the army were, at all times, the first exposed to danger for the common safety of the rest, they not only were defrauded of their ancient privileges, but robbed also of that share in the division of the plunder, which, by long custom, they had a right to claim. The young men, inflamed by these discourses, ran together in a body, and began to pillage the houses of the most favoured courtiers, and even attempted to burst the doors, and to break through the roof of the apartments of the king. In a short time, therefore, the whole city was filled with uproar and with tumult. Philip, being informed of this disorder, came running, in great haste, from Lechæum back to Corinth. And having assembled the Macedonians in the theatre, he endeavoured, both by admonition and by threatenings, to bring them to a sense of their mis-

conduct. But, as the confusion still increased, some were of opinion, that the chief leaders of the tumult should be seized and put to death: while others judged it to be far more prudent to quiet the commotion by gentle means, and that no resentment should be shown, on account of what had happened. The king, concealing his own sentiments, appeared to yield to this last advice; and, after some general exhortations, returned back again to Lechæum. For, though he very well knew, by whose contrivance the sedition had been raised, yet the times forced him to dissemble. After this disorder, he was no longer able to carry into execution those designs, which had invited him to Phocis.

But Leontius, perceiving that all his projects still were frustrated, and having thrown away all hope of being able to succeed in any new attempt, was now forced to call Apelles to his assistance. He sent, therefore, repeated messengers, urging him to return from Chalcis, and informed him of all the danger and perplexity in which he had been involved, from having opposed the counsels of the king. Apelles, during his abode in Chalcis, had raised his credit to a very high degree of insolence: representing the king, upon all occasions, as a young man, that was wholly governed by him: and, who had devolved upon him all the royal power, with the entire administration of the state. The magistrates, therefore, and the other

officers of Macedon and Thessaly, referred to him alone the censure of their conduct. And, in every city also of Greece, whenever any decrees were made, any honours paid, or presents offered, there was scarcely any mention made of Philip. Apelles obtained all, and governed all. The king had been, for a long time past, informed of these proceedings. But, though he bore the insult with great uneasiness and pain, and was urged closely by Aratus to apply some remedy, he so well concealed his sentiments, that no person yet was able to discover what measures he had resolved to take.

Apelles, being ignorant of all that was designed against him, and not doubting but that, as soon as he should appear again in the presence of the king, all things should be administered by his directions as before, returned in haste from Chalcis to support his friends. As he came near to Corinth, Leontius, Ptolemy, and Megaleas, who commanded the peltastæ, with the rest of the most distinguished bodies of the army, employed all their pains to engage the troops to meet him at some distance from the city. Apelles therefore entered in a kind of triumph; attended by great numbers both of officers and soldiers; and went directly towards the apartments of the king. But as he was going to enter, agreeably to his former custom, a lictor, who had before received his orders, stopped him from advancing, and told him that

the king was not then at leisure. Apelles stood for some time fixed in doubt and wonder, at a treatment so strange and unexpected, and afterwards retired in great disorder. The company that had attended in his train all fell away before his face; so that at last he was followed to his house by his own servants only. Thus it is that all men, in the course even of one short moment, attain the highest elevation, and again are sunk in ruin. But this chiefly happens to those that are found in the courts of kings. For as the counters, that are used in calculation, are made sometimes equal to a talent, sometimes to a farthing, at the will of him who casts up the account; so these men likewise, are either rich and splendid, destitute and involved in wretchedness, as the nod of their prince decrees. Megaleas, perceiving that he had hoped in vain to be protected by the power of Apelles against the danger which so nearly threatened him, resolved to save himself by flight. The king sometimes admitted Apelles to his presence, and favoured him with some slight marks of honour: but excluded him from all his counsels; and from the banquets which he celebrated with his friends, after the business of the day. Within some days afterwards, he sailed to Phocis from Lechæum, taking Apelles also with him. But he was forced to return again from Elatea, without being able to accomplish his designs. Megaleas seized the occasion of his absence,

and fled to Athens; leaving Leontius engaged for the twenty talents which he had been condemned to pay. And when the magistrates of Athens refused to receive him within their city, he retired to Thebes.

The king embarked at Cirrha with his guards, and having landed in the port of Sicyon, went from thence into the city, and, paying no regard to the invitation of the magistrates, lodged himself in the house of Aratus, with whom he passed all his time, and sent Apelles back to Corinth. As soon also as he was informed that Megaleas had fled, he ordered Taurion to march with the peltastæ, who were commanded by Leontius, into Triphylia; on pretence that they were there to be employed in some action of importance. But as soon as they had left the city, he ordered Leontius to be led away to prison on account of the fine, for which he was engaged as surety for Megaleas. The peltastæ, being soon informed by messengers that were sent to them from Leontius, of the danger into which he had fallen, immediately deputed some of their body to the king to desire, that if Leontius was charged with any new offence, no judgement might be passed upon him before their return; that otherwise, they should think themselves despised and greatly injured; for such was the freedom with which the Macedonians always were accustomed to address their kings. They added also, that if nothing more was demanded of him than to pay

the twenty talents for Megaleas, they would themselves discharge the debt by common contribution. But this eagerness which the soldiers showed to save Leontius served only to incense the king much more against him, and hastened the order for his death.

About this time the ambassadors of Rhodes and Chios returned from Ætolia, having settled a truce of thirty days. They assured the king that the Ætolians were inclined to peace; and that if he would consent to meet their deputies at Rhium, on a day which they had named, he would find them heartily disposed to give a quick determination to the war. Philip consented to the truce; and wrote also to the allies, that they should send to Patræ some persons to deliberate with him concerning the conditions of the peace. He then embarked at Lechæum, and, after two days' sailing, arrived at Patræ. In this place he received some letters from Phocis, which had been written by Megaleas to the Ætolians; exhorting them to persist in the war with confidence, and assuring them that Philip would soon be forced, by the want of necessaries, to abandon all his projects. There were added also many severe and injurious calumnies, with regard both to the conduct and the person of the king. Philip, when he had seen these letters, was now fully sensible that Apelles was the chief contriver of all that had been done to obstruct his measures. He gave orders, therefore, that he

should immediately be seized, and sent away under a guard to Corinth, together with his son, and a young man his favourite. At the same time he ordered Alexander to go to Thebes, and to cite Megaleas before the magistrates for the payment of his fine. But when this was done, Megaleas not waiting for the sentence, destroyed himself with his own hands. Within some days afterwards Apelles also died, together with his son, and favourite. Such was the fate which at last befell these traitors; a fate that was, in justice, due to all their past transactions, and especially to their insolent attempts against Aratus.

The Ætolians had wished indeed with earnestness to be delivered from a war that pressed them closely on every side, and which had proved in all points contrary to that which they had expected from it. For they had vainly hoped that they should be able to deal with Philip as with a child that was destitute of knowledge and experience. But this prince, both in forming his designs, and in carrying them also into execution, had shown himself to be a perfect man; while themselves, on the other hand, appeared contemptible as children, as well in every single enterprise, as in the general conduct of the war. But when they received the news of the sedition that was raised among the troops, and of the deaths of Apelles and Leontius, they began to be persuaded that such disorders might ensue as would create no small embarrassment to the king. Flattered,

therefore, by this hope, they neglected to send their deputies to Rhium on the appointed day. The king seized with joy the occasion that was thus thrown into his hands for continuing the war; both because he had the greatest hopes of a happy issue from it, and had also secretly resolved, before he arrived, that he would employ all his power to retard and obstruct the treaty. Instead, therefore, of advising the confederates who had joined him to entertain any thoughts of peace, he, on the contrary, encouraged them still to pursue the war with vigour; and then sailed back again to Corinth. From thence he sent the Macedonians away through Thessaly to pass the winter in their own country; while himself embarked at Cenchræ, and sailing round the coast of Attica, arrived through the Euripus at Demetrias. And there finding Ptolemy, who alone was left of those that had been engaged in the conspiracy with Leontius, he brought him to a trial before some Macedonian judges, by whose sentence he was condemned to die.

This was the time in which Annibal, having entered Italy, was encamped in sight of the Roman army upon the banks of the river Po. Antiochus also, having subdued the greatest part of Cœle-syria, had just now dismissed his army to their winter quarters. About the same time Lycurgus, king of Lacedæmon, was forced to fly into Ætolia to avoid the fury of the ephori. For these magistrates, deluded by a false report, that

he designed to raise some disorders in the government, had drawn together a numerous party, and came to seize him in his house by night. But as he had received timely warning of the danger he found means to escape with all his family.

The winter was now far advanced, and Philip had retired to Macedon. Eperatus also, the Achæan prætor, was so sunk in credit and esteem as well among the troops of the republic as the mercenaries, that no respect was paid to his commands, nor any measures taken to secure the country against the incursions of the enemy. The general of the Eleans, Pyrrhias, having reflected on these circumstances, took with him fourteen hundred Ætolians, the mercenaries of the Eleans, and the forces also of the province, amounting to one thousand foot and two hundred horse, so that the whole number of his forces was about three thousand men; and made many depredations without remission upon the lands of the Dymæans, the Pharæans, and Patræans; and having at last encamped upon a hill called Panachaicus, which stood above the city of Patræ, he ravaged all the country as far as Ægium and Rhium. The cities, being thus insulted and destroyed, and not able to obtain any effectual succours, began to withhold their contributions to the war. The mercenaries, on the other hand, perceiving that the payment of their stipends was, from time to time, neglected and delayed, refused to march to the assistance of

the country. And thus while both sides gratified alike their mutual discontent the disorder was still increased, till the troops at last all deserted from the service. Such were the effects of the incapacity and weakness of Eperatus. But while all things were thus tending fast to ruin, his administration came at last to an end. At the approach of summer he resigned his office, and the Achæans made choice of the elder Aratus to be prætor. Such was the condition of affairs in Europe.

CHAP. IV.

FROM these transactions, since we are now arrived at a suitable period with respect to time, as well as at a proper pause likewise in the relation of affairs, we shall go on to describe what passed in Asia during the course of this same Olympiad; beginning, as we at first designed, with the war in which Antiochus and Ptolemy were engaged together for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria. For though this war, with respect both to the commencement and the progress of it, was coincident with that which we have last described, and was extended also beyond the time in which we have now broken our narration, yet it seemed most proper that we should give in this place a distinct

relation of it, and separate it from the affairs of Greece. Nor will the reader find it difficult to apprehend the exact time in which all things severally were transacted; since we have already taken care, in relating all that passed in Greece, to mention always the beginning and the end of the chief events that happened at the same time in Asia. But that our work might be, in every part, intelligible and clear, it seemed, as we have said, most proper that we should separate the affairs of these two countries, during the course only of this Olympiad. For in those that follow we shall interweave together in joint order all the great transactions that were coincident in time, and relate them as they happened from year to year.

As my design, indeed, the most important and extensive, if I may be allowed to say it, of all that have hitherto been formed, is not to write the history of any single country, but to include together all the fortunes and transactions of every people and of every nation in the habitable earth, it will in a more especial manner be incumbent on me to dispose and regulate the whole with such skill and care as that the order and connexion of all that I relate may be fully and distinctly understood, as well through the work in general as also in its several parts. With this design, I shall now look back to the earlier parts of the reign of Antiochus and Ptolemy; and beginning from some certain and established

facts, from thence lead the reader to the war which I am going to describe. Nor is this care to be regarded as a matter of small importance. For when the ancients said that a work begun was half completed, their intention was to warn us that, in every undertaking, our greatest pains should be employed to make a good beginning. And though this manner of expression may be thought by many to be raised beyond the truth, yet, in my judgement, it rather falls below it. For he may boldly say, not only that a work begun is half completed, but also that the beginning is connected closely even with the end. For how can we properly begin, unless we have viewed our undertaking to its utmost bounds; and known, from whence the work is to proceed, to what limits we design to extend it, and what also is the end proposed? Or how again shall we be able to give any summary account of all that the work contains, unless we first compare together the beginning with the end, and place before us in one view the commencement, order, connexion, and dependencies, of those events of which we design to treat? As the beginning, therefore, is thus closely joined not only with the middle of the work but also with the end, it ought at all times to engage the chief attention both of those that write and those also that read a general history. And this is that which I shall myself endeavour to observe with the greatest care.

I am not ignorant, indeed, that many others

have boasted, like myself, that they have written a general history; and that their project is the greatest and the most important of any that were ever offered to the world. Among these is Ephorus; who was the first, and is indeed the only one, who seems to have been in truth engaged in such an undertaking. With regard to all the rest I shall at present forbear to name them; and will only say, that we have seen in our times some historians, who, when they have given a slight account, within the compass of a few pages only, of the war of Annibal against the Romans, have boldly called their work a general history, and yet all men know, that at this time were accomplished many very signal and important actions, both in Spain and Afric, in Sicily and Italy; and that this war, the most celebrated, and, if we except the first war of Sicily, the longest also in its continuance of any that we have ever known, drew the eyes of all mankind towards it, and filled their minds with anxious fear for the event. Yet these historians, when they have recorded fewer facts than even those painters who, in some of the cities of Greece, are employed from time to time to draw upon the walls a slight and general sketch of any actions that have happened, make no scruple to affirm, that they have included in their work the conduct and the various fortunes of the barbarians and the Greeks. But to say the truth, as on the one hand nothing is so easy as to engage, by

words, in the most extensive undertakings; so on the other, nothing is more difficult than to carry any great design effectually into execution. For the first lies within the power of all who possess only a sufficient share of confidence. But the latter is the portion of a few, and can scarcely be accomplished even in the course of a long and laborious life. Let these reflections, therefore, serve to moderate in some degree the arrogance of those writers who so vainly extol their own productions. I now return again to the subject, from whence I was led into this digression.

Ptolemy, who was surnamed Philopator, having after the death of his father destroyed his brother Magas with all his friends, reigned alone in Ægypt. As by this exploit he had freed himself from the dread of any domestic tumults, so fortune also seemed to have secured him against all danger from abroad. For Seleucus and Antigonus both were dead: and Antiochus and Philip, who succeeded in their kingdoms, were still in their most tender age. Flattered, therefore, by this prospect of tranquillity and ease he began to waste his time in one continual course of sports and pleasures; secluding himself from every kind of business, and not permitting either the nobles of his court, or those that were intrusted with the administration of the kingdom, ever to approach him. With regard also to all the foreign provinces, the governors were left to

pursue their own designs, without any inquiry or restraint. And yet these were the parts of their dominions which all former kings had at all times thought more worthy of their attention, even than Ægypt. For thus, while they were masters of Cyprus, and of Cœle-syria, they lay close upon the kings of Syria both by land and sea. Possessed also of the most considerable cities, posts, and harbours along the coast, from Pamphylia towards the Hellespont, as far as Lysimachia, they were always able to control the powers of Asia, and the islands. And, even with respect to Thrace and Macedon, they were still ready to attend to all commotions, and repel every danger that might threaten them, while they held a garrison in Ænos and Maronea, and in some cities also that were beyond them. By this wise policy, while their power was spread wide abroad, they reigned in full security in Ægypt, which was covered against all attacks by the barrier of their distant provinces. It was not without good reason therefore, that they still watched over the condition of these countries with extreme attention. But Ptolemy rejected all this care; and abandoned himself at once to obscene amours and mad debauchery, without any intermission or reserve. And from hence it happened, as it might indeed be reasonably expected, that within a short time afterwards many designs were formed to deprive him both of his kingdom and his life.

The first attempt was made against him by Cleomenes the Spartan. This prince, during the life-time of Euergetes, who had entered into a close alliance with him, remained satisfied and quiet; being persuaded that he should be able to obtain at some convenient time the assistance that was necessary to recover again his paternal kingdom. But when that monarch had been some time dead, and the affairs of Greece were in such condition that they seemed aloud to demand Cleomenes; when Antigonus was now also dead, the Achæans involved in war, and the Lacedæmonians, pursuing that very project which Cleomenes himself had formed, had joined their arms with the Ætolians against the Macedonians and Achæans; he was impatient to be gone from Alexandria, and urged his departure with the greatest earnestness. He at first desired to be dismissed, with some suitable supplies of troops and stores. And when this request was wholly disregarded, he begged that himself at least might be permitted to leave the kingdom with his family; since the times were now so favourable for obtaining again the sovereignty of which he had been deprived. The king being immersed in sloth and pleasure, paying no attention to any thing that was before him, and utterly regardless also of the future, still foolishly refused to hear the petitions of Cleomenes. But Sosibius, who was then the first in the administration of the kingdom, assembled together his friends to

consider what was most proper to be done. In this council it was soon determined, that they would not send back Cleomenes with a fleet and forces. For besides that, from the time in which Antigonus had died, they had entirely disregarded all the affairs abroad, and, on that account, considered the expense that must attend this expedition as a thing unnecessary; they were apprehensive likewise, that as there was now no general left that was equal to Cleomenes, this prince would soon be able to subdue all Greece with little difficulty, and might then turn his arms perhaps against themselves, and become to Ægypt a most dangerous and formidable enemy. And this indeed was rather to be dreaded, because he had viewed the whole state of their affairs in the clearest light, had conceived a high and just contempt of the conduct and manners of the king; and had also seen that many parts of their dominions were independent and far separated from the rest, and offered many favourable opportunities for action to a dexterous enemy. For at this time there were many ships at Samos, and a considerable number also of troops at Ephesus. From these reasons they concluded that it was by no means proper to furnish him with the supplies that were desired. On the other hand, if they should dismiss a man so great and eminent after they had thus contemptuously slighted his request, it was manifest that he would from thence become their most implacable and sharpest

enemy. It remained, therefore, that, in spite of his own desire and inclinations, he should be still detained at Alexandria. But this design was at once, without deliberation, condemned by all. For they judged it would be much too dangerous to shut up a lion in the same fold with sheep. Sosibius, more than all the rest, was apprehensive of the ill effects of such a measure; from the reasons which I am going to relate.

At the time when the design was formed to destroy Magas and Berenice, the persons who conducted it were distracted with no small solicitude; chiefly, lest the bold and resolute spirit of the princess should baffle their attempts, and defeat the whole conspiracy. In this apprehension they employed great pains to draw the courtiers to their party; and promised large rewards to all, in case that their project should be attended with success. Among the rest, Sosibius had recourse especially to Cleomenes; whom he knew to be a man of deep sense and judgement, well versed in the conduct of great affairs, and who at this time was soliciting some assistance from the king. Flattering him therefore with the hopes of obtaining all that he desired, he disclosed to him the secret of the whole design. Cleomenes, perceiving that his mind was filled with doubt and apprehension, and that he dreaded more especially some resistance from the foreign troops, exhorted him to lay aside his fears; and promised

that these mercenaries, instead of taking arms against him, should be even ready to assist him in his project, in case that there should be occasion for it. And when Sosibius appeared surprised at this assurance, "Do you not see," continued he, "that there are three thousand men from Peloponnesus, and a thousand Cretans; who all, at the least nod which I shall make, will join to execute your orders? And when these troops are drawn together for your defence, what have you left to dread? the soldiers of Syria and Caria?" Sosibius heard this discourse with pleasure, and was greatly encouraged by it to persist in his design. But afterwards, when he saw the weakness and effeminacy of the king, the words that were now spoken by Cleomenes were for ever present to his mind; and forced him to reflect continually upon the enterprising disposition of this prince, and the favour in which he stood among the mercenaries. At this time, therefore, he resolved to engage his friends, and Ptolemy himself, to consent that Cleomenes should be seized, and shut up in close confinement. And this was soon effected in the following manner.

There was a certain Messenian named Nicagoras, who had received the rights of hospitality from the father of Archidamus, king of Lacedæmon: and from thence some kind of intercourse, though slight and general, had been still preserved between the son also and himself. But when

Archidamus, in order to avoid the vengeance of Cleomenes, was forced to fly from Sparta, and sought refuge in Messene, Nicagoras received him into his house, and supplied him with all necessaries: and, as they conversed together continually, a mutual inclination to each other by degrees took place, which, at last, was ripened into the most perfect confidence and friendship. When Cleomenes, therefore, some time afterwards, gave hopes that he would again be reconciled to Archidamus, and permit him to return, Nicagoras was employed at his own request to settle the conditions of the treaty. And when these were on both sides ratified, Archidamus set out to return to Sparta; and thought himself secure in the agreement, that had been thus negociated by his friend. But Cleomenes met him upon the road and killed him; but suffered Nicagoras, with the rest of the attendants, to escape. Nicagoras concealed his sentiments, and outwardly professed great obligations to Cleomenes, who had thus spared his life. But in his mind he bore a strong resentment of the action: because it seemed that through his means chiefly the king had fallen into the snare that proved so fatal to him.

This man then, about the time of which we are speaking, arrived at Alexandria, with some horses which he had brought to sell. As he came to land he saw Cleomenes, who was walking with Hippitas and Panteus, near the

harbour. Cleomenes saluted him with great affection, and inquired the business of his voyage. And when Nicagoras told him that he had brought some horses, "I could wish," said he, "most heartily, that you had rather brought some catamites and dancers; for these are the amusement of the present king." Nicagoras then smiled, but made no reply. But some days afterwards, being admitted, upon the business of his horses, to the presence of Sosibius, in order to incense him against Cleomenes, he reported to him this discourse. And when he observed that he was heard with pleasure, he discovered all the grounds of his own aversion against that prince. When Sosibius found that he was in reality an enemy to Cleomenes, he offered to him some considerable presents, and promising also more, prevailed upon him to write a letter, which should contain some charge against Cleomenes, and to leave it sealed with orders to a servant to deliver it within some days after his departure. Nicagoras entered readily into all the project, and sailed away from Alexandria. The letter was then delivered to Sosibius; who carried it, together with the servant, to the king. The servant declared that Nicagoras had left the letter, with orders that he should deliver it to Sosibius. The letter itself imported, that Cleomenes, if the king should still persist in refusing the supplies that were necessary for his return, had resolved

soon to raise commotions in the kingdom. Sosibius, seizing the occasion, urged the king and all that were about him to admit no delay, but instantly to prevent the treason by securing the person of Cleomenes. And this accordingly was done. They allotted to him for his residence a house of great extent, in which he was guarded carefully: so that he differed in no respect from other prisoners, except only that his prison was of a larger size.

Cleomenes, when he had weighed all the circumstances of his present state, and perceived that there was no room left for hope, was determined to attempt and hazard every thing, in order to regain his liberty: not so much in expectation that he should be able to succeed in the design, since he was destitute of all the necessary means; but rather because he had resolved to die a glorious death, without suffering any thing that might disgrace his former greatness; having fixed, as I suppose, his whole attention upon that noble sentiment of the poet, so flattering to men of elevated minds:

Welcome fate!
'Tis true I perish, yet I perish great:
Yet in a mighty deed I shall expire;
Let future ages hear it, and admire *.

Having waited, therefore, till the king was

* Pope, Iliad, 22.

gone from Alexandria to Canopus, he then spread a report among his guards, that he should soon obtain his liberty. Upon this pretence he feasted all his family; and distributed among his soldiers also meat and wine, and crowns of flowers. The guards, not suspecting any kind of fraud, gave full indulgence to their appetites. And when at last they had drunk to great excess, Cleomenes, with his friends and servants, having poniards in their hands, passed through them unperceived, about the middle of the day. When they came into the street, they there met Ptolemy, who, in the absence of the king, was intrusted with the government of the city: and having struck a terror into his attendants, they pulled him from his chariot, and shut him up; and then called aloud to the people to resume their liberty. But when the multitude were all so struck with terror at the boldness of the attempt, that none approached to join them, they directed their way towards the citadel, with design to force their entrance, and take the prisoners to their assistance. But the officers, in apprehension of this accident, had strongly barred the gates. Disappointed, therefore, in this hope likewise, they at last killed themselves with their own poniards: and then showed a courage that was truly Spartan. In this manner fell Cleomenes; a prince whose manners were dexterous and insinuating, as his capacity in the administration

of affairs was great: and who, to express his character in a word, was most admirably formed by nature both for a general and a king.

Within a short time after this event Theodotus the governor of Cœle-syria, an Ætolian by his birth, resolved to enter into treaty with Antiochus, and to deliver to him the cities of his province. He was urged to this design partly by the contempt which he had conceived of Ptolemy, on account of his lazy and luxurious life; and partly also because he was persuaded that some ill designs had been formed against himself by the ministers of the court. For not long before, though he had performed many important services, as well on other occasions, as more especially at the time in which Antiochus first invaded Cœle-syria, he not only had received no reward or favour, but on the contrary was ordered to return to Alexandria, and even found it difficult to escape with life. Antiochus received his offer with the greatest joy: and the agreement was in a short time fully regulated. But we shall now perform for this house, likewise, what we have done with respect to Ptolemy; and looking back to the time in which Antiochus began to reign, shall from thence give a short account of the chief events to the commencement of the war which we are now preparing to describe.

CHAP. V.

ANTIOCHUS was the youngest son of Seleucus, surnamed Callinicus. As soon as his father was dead, and his elder brother had, in right of his birth, succeeded in the throne, he at first retired from the court, and fixed his residence in the upper Asia. But some time afterwards, when his brother having passed mount Taurus with an army was deprived of his life by treachery, as we before related, he returned and took possession of the kingdom; leaving to Achæus the government of the country that was on this side of mount Taurus. At the same time also he intrusted to the care of Molon, and of Alexander, Molon's brother, all the upper provinces; and appointed the first to be the governor of Media, and the other of Persis.

But not long afterwards, these two, despising the king on account of his tender age, being incited also by the hope that Achæus might be engaged to enter with them into their design, but chiefly because they dreaded the cruel disposition, and the wicked arts of Hermias, who was then the first in the administration of affairs, resolved to throw off their allegiance, and

employ all their power to engage the upper provinces to revolt.

Hermias was, by birth, a Carian; and had been intrusted with the supreme direction of the kingdom by Seleucus, the brother of Antiochus, when he set out upon his expedition towards mount Taurus. Raised to this high post, he grew jealous of all besides that were in any manner distinguished in the court. And being by nature cruel, he sometimes aggravated little faults into crimes of moment, and punished them with the last severity. Sometimes, himself both forged the accusation and decided as the judge, without any remorse or pity. Above all the rest, he wished most earnestly for some occasion by which he might destroy Epigenes, who had led the forces back that had attended on Seleucus. For he knew that he was a man of eminent abilities, both in the cabinet and the field; and that his authority also among the troops was great. Having marked him, therefore, as the chief object of his fear and hatred, he attended carefully to every accident that might furnish him with some pretence against him. At this time, when the king had called together a council, to deliberate on the measures that were most proper to be taken against the rebels, and had commanded every man to speak his sentiments, Epigenes, who rose up the first, advised, that, in a matter of so near and great importance, no moment

should be lost: that the king himself should hasten in person to the place, and not suffer the occasion to escape: that, by his presence in the country with a sufficient force, either Molon must at once be forced to abandon his designs, or, in case that he still should have the boldness to persist, the people would all join to seize, and deliver him a prisoner to the king. He had scarcely ended, when Hermias, rising full of rage, declared, that Epigenes, for a long time past, had harboured secretly such counsels in his heart, as were the most pernicious to the kingdom; but, that now his sentiments had appeared without disguise, since he had thus urged the king to march in person, into a country that was armed against him, with a force too small for his security, and, in a word, to throw himself at once into the power of the rebels. He then said no more; but, being satisfied with having stamped this first bad impression of Epigenes, so that his words seemed rather the effect of an inconsiderate and hasty peevishness, than of any settled hatred, he went on to deliver his own opinion; which was, that the king should lay aside all thoughts of marching against Molon, and rather turn his arms against the king of Egypt. For, being himself unskilled in the affairs of war, he feared to encounter with the danger, which this expedition seemed to promise: and was persuaded, on the other hand, that Ptolemy, a prince into

mersed in sloth and pleasure, might be attacked with little hazard. Having thus struck a terror into all the members of the council, he gave to Xenon, and to Theodotus, a native of Hermione, the conduct of the forces that were ordered to be sent against the rebels.

From this time also, he never ceased to press the king continually, to enter Cœle-syria with an army: being persuaded, that if this young prince should be once enclosed on every side by war, perplexed with difficulties, and distressed by danger, he would stand so much in need of his constant counsel and assistance, that he never would be able to entertain a thought of inquiring into any of his former faults, or make any attempt to divest him of that power of which he was then possessed. At last, therefore, having forged a letter, which he pretended had been sent to him from Achæus, he carried it to the king. The import of it was, "that Ptolemy had strongly urged Achæus to assume the royal diadem, and promised to assist him both with ships and money, in case that he would declare himself the sovereign of the countries which he, at that time, governed: that, in fact, he already was the sovereign of them; and, why then should he envy himself the name, and foolishly reject the crown which was thus placed upon his head by fortune?" Antiochus gave full credit to this letter, and was now fixed in the design of invading Cœle-syria without delay.

About this time, while the king was at Seleucia, near Zeugma, Laodice, who was designed to be his wife, arrived from Cappadocia, conducted by Diognetus. She was the daughter of king Mithridates, and was a virgin. Mithridates himself derived his descent from one of those seven Persians who killed the Magus; and boasted also, that his kingdom, which stood upon the coast of the Euxine sea, was the same which had first been given to his ancestors by Darius. Antiochus, attended by a numerous train of courtiers, met the princess on her journey; and solemnized the nuptials with such splendour and magnificence, as were worthy of a king. From thence he went down to Antiochia; and, having declared Laodice his queen, began to make all the necessary preparations for the war.

During this time, Molon, with the assistance of his brother Alexander, who engaged, without reserve, in the same design, drew to his party all the people of his government; partly by the promise of great riches and rewards, and partly also by intimidating the chief men of the country, to whom he showed some letters of a severe and threatening strain, which he pretended to have been written by the king. He took care also to secure himself against all danger from the neighbouring provinces; having, by large presents, gained the favour of the governors. And, when his measures were all

fully regulated, he began his march with a very numerous army, and advanced to meet the forces of the king.

The generals Xenon and Theodotus were struck with terror at his approach, and retired into the cities. Molon, therefore, became at once the master of all the country round Apollonia, which abounded with supplies and stores of every kind in the greatest quantity. Before this success, his power, indeed, was greatly to be dreaded, on account of the riches and the wide extent of the country which he governed. For all the royal herds of horses are bred among the Medes. Their cattle and their fruits are scarcely to be numbered. Nor is it easy to express the natural strength and greatness of this province.

For Media, which is situated near the midst of Asia, far surpasses every other province, as well in its extent, as in the height also, and the number of the mountains with which the country all is covered. It commands likewise many great and powerful nations, that are situated close upon the borders of it. On the side towards the east, are those desert plains that lie between Persis and Parrhasia; the passes that are called the Caspian gates; and the Tapyrian mountains, which are not far distant from the Hyrcanian sea. On the south it extends towards the borders of Mesopotamia, Apollonia, and Persis; and is covered by the mountain Zagrus,

which rises to a hundred stadia in its height; and whose summit, being parted into many separate hills, forms deep declivities and spacious valleys, which are inhabited by the Cossæans, the Corbrenæ, Carchians, and other barbarous tribes all celebrated for their prowess and dexterity in war. Towards the west it is closely joined to the people called the Atropatians; who themselves are not far distant from the nations that reside upon the borders of the Euxine sea. And lastly, this province, on the side towards the north, is bounded by the Elymæans, Ariaracæ, Caddusians, and the Matianians; and commands those countries, likewise, that extend towards that part of the Pontus which is joined with the Mæotis. The province itself is broken into many parts, by various chains of mountains, which cover it, at certain distances, from east to west: and the plains between are all filled with villages and cities. Molon, therefore, being master of a province so considerable, and which was indeed itself a kingdom, was before, as we have said, very greatly to be dreaded. But now, when the generals of the king had yielded to him all the open country, and this first success had inspired his troops with confidence, his power appeared so great and formidable that all the people of Asia were struck with consternation, and began to lose all hope of being able to resist his arms. At first, therefore, he resolved to pass

the Tigris, and to besiege Seleucia. But being prevented in this design by Zeuxis, who had removed all the boats that were upon the river, he retreated back again to a place that was called the Camp, in the neighbourhood of Ctesiphon, and made the necessary preparations to pass the winter there with his army.

As soon as the king received the news that Molon had already made so quick a progress, and that his generals had retired before him, he resumed again his first design, and resolved to suspend his expedition against Ptolemy, and to march without any new delay immediately against the rebels. But Hermias, persisting still in his former project, gave to Xenœtas, an Achæan, the supreme command of all the forces, and sent him against Molon. It was proper, he said, that generals should be employed to bring back rebellious subjects to their duty: but that a king should only take the field against a king, when the contest was for glory and for empire. And as Antiochus was at this time wholly in his power, he immediately began his march to Apamea; assembled the troops together; and from thence advanced to Laodicea. From this city, the king continued his route with all the army, and having passed the desert, entered a close and narrow valley, which lies between the Libanus and Antilibanus, and is called the Vale of Marsyas. The narrowest part of the valley is covered

by a lake and marshy ground, from whence are gathered aromatic reeds. The two sides of it are secured by two fortresses, the one of which is called Bronchi, and the other Gerrha, which leave but a very inconsiderable space between them. The king, having marched some days along the valley, and, in his way, reduced the cities that were near, came, at last to Gerrha: and, finding that Theodotus the Ætolian, had posted a sufficient force in both the fortresses, had fortified with trenches and with pallisades the pass that led along the lake, and had placed some troops in every part that was commodious for it, he, at first, endeavoured to dislodge the enemy, and to force his passage. But, as all the posts were thus strongly fortified, he suffered great loss in the attempt, without being able to annoy the enemy. And, as Theodotus also was at this time firm in the interests of his master, he, at last, was forced to abandon the design.

Antiochus, being thus repulsed, and not able to surmount the difficulties that were before him, at the same time also received the news that Xenœtas had suffered an entire defeat, and that all the upper provinces had submitted to the rebels. He resolved, therefore, to lay aside at once all farther thoughts of the expedition in which he was now engaged, and to turn back again without delay to the assistance of his own proper kingdom.

For Xenœtas being raised, as we have said, to the supreme command, and invested with a power

to which his hopes had never dared to aspire, rejected with disdain the counsels of his friends, and pursued, in all his conduct, the dictates only of his own hasty and impetuous will. He led the army, however, to Seleucia; and being joined there by Diogenes and Pythiades, the first of whom was governor of the Susian province, and the other of the Red Sea, he advanced with all his forces, and encamped in sight of the enemy, having the Tigris in his front. But being assured by many soldiers, who swam over to him from the camp of Molon, that, if he would pass the river, the whole army of the rebels, who were jealous of their general's greatness, and in their hearts still preserved a strong affection for the king, would at once embrace his party, he resolved immediately to transport his forces to the other side; and at first made a show as if he had designed to lay a bridge across the river in a part that formed a kind of island. But as he was wholly destitute of all things that were proper for his purpose this attempt gave no solicitude to Molon. But afterwards when he had drawn together all the boats that he was able to procure, he selected from the army the bravest of the forces, both infantry and cavalry, and leaving the care of the camp to Zeuxis and Pythiades, he marched down the stream to the distance of about eighty stadia from the place in which Molon lay encamped, passed the river without resistance, and encamped upon a very advantage-

ous ground, which was almost every way surrounded by the river, and covered also in the other parts by pools and marshes that were not easy to be passed. As soon as Molon was informed of what had happened he sent away his cavalry, in the hope that they would be able with little difficulty to intercept the forces as they passed the river, and obtain an easy victory over those that had already gained the land. But these troops, as they approached, were themselves soon vanquished, without any efforts of the enemy. For being wholly unacquainted with the ground they were plunged at every step into pits and pools; and being thus deprived of the power of resisting, were there all destroyed. Xenœtas, who was still persuaded that the rebels, upon his first approach, would run to embrace his party, continued his march afterwards along the river, and encamped very near the enemy. Molon, either by stratagem or because he was apprehensive that the troops might indeed be inclined to join Xenœtas, left all his baggage behind him in the camp, and beginning his march by night, directed his route towards Media. Xenœtas, not doubting but that the retreat of Molon was the effect of fear and want of confidence in his troops, took possession of the camp from which the enemy had retired; and brought over also all his cavalry, together with the baggage, which he had left on the other side of the river under the command of Zeuxis. He then assembled the troops together, and ex-

horted them boldly to expect a happy issue from the war, since Molon had already fled. He ordered them to take their full repast, and to be ready at break of day to pursue the enemy. The soldiers, being thus filled with confidence, and finding all kinds of provisions in the camp, began to eat and drink without any moderation or restraint, till they fell at last into that state of careless and insensible security which is the usual attendant of excess.

But Molon, when he had gained a proper distance, ordered his troops to take their supper, and then returned again towards the camp; and arriving about break of day forced the intrenchments, and fell with fury upon the enemy while they were all dispersed and drowned in wine. Xenœtas, struck with consternation, and having in vain employed his efforts to raise the soldiers from their drunken sleep, threw himself into the middle of the combatants, and lost his life. The greatest part of the troops were destroyed sleeping in their beds. The rest plunged into the river, and hoped to gain the camp that was on the other side. But of these the greater part were also lost. In a word, disorder, noise, and tumult were spread through all the camp. Every mind was filled with horror and distraction. In this state the troops, as they turned their eyes towards the camp on the opposite shore, which stood in full view, and at a very inconsiderable distance from them, forgot at once the strength and rapid violence of the stream that was between. Blind-

ed, therefore, by their fears, and urged by the eager hopes of life, they leaped into the river; and even threw into it their horses and their baggage, as if the stream, by some kind of providential care, would have assisted them in their distress, and wafted them to the opposite bank in safety. But how lamentable, and how full of horror was the scene! Men struggling with the waters; horses also, and beasts of burthen, floating down the stream; with arms, dead carcasses, and every kind of baggage.

Molon, being thus master of the camp, passed the river without resistance, and gained possession also of the other camp, from which Zeuxis had retired at his approach. After this success he advanced with all his army to Seleucia, and took it in the first assault; for Zeuxis still fled before him, together with Diomedon, the governor of the city. From hence he marched through the country, and subdued without any difficulty all the upper provinces. Having made himself master of Babylon, with the country which extends along the borders of the Red Sea, he came to Susa, and took this city also in the first assault; but failed in his attempt to reduce the citadel, into which Diogenes had thrown himself with a body of forces. Leaving, therefore, one part of his army to invest the place, he returned back again with the rest to Seleucia, upon the Tigris. And having carefully refreshed his troops, and encouraged them to pursue the

war, he again took the field, and subdued all the country which lay along the Tigris, and was called Parapotamia, as far as to the city Europus, and all Mesopotamia likewise as far as Dura.

The news of these rapid victories forced Antiochus, as we have already said, to lay aside all thoughts of reducing Cœle-syria, and to turn his whole attention upon the danger which so nearly threatened him. He assembled, therefore, a second council, and commanded every one to declare his sentiments with respect to the measures that were most proper to be taken to check the progress of the rebels. Epigenes again spoke the first, and said, that before the enemy had gained such great advantages, his opinion was, that the king should march himself into the country without delay; and that he still persisted in the same advice. He had scarcely ended when Hermias, giving now full scope to his resentment, vented his rage in severe reproaches, and charged Epigenes with many bitter accusations, which were both absurd and false. He extolled the merit also of his own great services; and pressed the king, with the utmost earnestness, by no means to desist from his first design, or abandon, upon so slight a show of reason, the hopes which he had conceived of joining Cœle-syria to his empire. But this conduct gave no small offence to the whole assembly. Antiochus himself was also much displeased; and employed all his power to quiet the contention; which he at last

indeed effected, but not without great difficulty. The measures which Epigenes had advised were approved by all the council, as the wisest and most necessary in the present circumstances. It, therefore, was resolved, that all other business should give place, and that the king should employ all his force against the rebels without delay.

As soon as the affair was thus decided, Hermias let fall at once all farther contest, and conformed himself to this opinion, together with the rest. And declaring also, that when a resolution once was taken, every man was obliged in duty to receive it without objection or excuse, he applied himself in earnest, and with the greatest diligence, to make all the necessary preparations for the war. But when the troops were drawn together to Apamea, and a sedition had broken out among them, on account of some arrears that were owing to them from their pay, observing that the king was filled with consternation, and seemed to fear that this disorder, having happened at a time so critical, might be attended with some fatal consequences, he offered to discharge, at his own expense, the allowance that was due, on condition only that Epigenes should be dismissed. For he said, that as their mutual contests and resentment had been raised to such a height, it was greatly to be feared that their presence together in the army would soon prove the source of some new disorders, which might

be fatal in the conduct of the war. The king, who knew that Epigenes had gained a consummate skill in the art of war, and who wished especially, on that account, that he might attend him in his expedition, received this demand with great reluctance and concern. But being pressed and closely urged on every side by the officers of his house, and by all his guards and servants, whom Hermias, by his wicked artifices, had engaged in his designs, he was no long master of himself, but was forced to yield to what the times required; to consent to all that was proposed, and to send orders to Epigenes that he should remain at Apamea. The members of the council were all seized with terror. The troops, having obtained their wishes, returned again to their duty, and were disposed to advance all the interests of Hermias, who had thus procured the payment of their stipends. The Cyrrhestæ alone, who were in number about six thousand men, persisted still in their revolt; and having separated themselves from the rest of the army, for some time occasioned no small trouble. But they were at last defeated in a set engagement with one of the generals of the king; who destroyed the greater part of them in the action, and forced the rest to surrender at discretion.

Hermias, having thus struck all the friends of the king with terror, and secured to himself the favor and affection of the army, began his march, together with the king; and about the same time

also, formed the following contrivance to destroy Epigenes; having engaged in his design Alexis, who commanded in the citadel of Apamea. A letter was written in the name of Molon to Epigenes, and was placed privately among his papers, by a servant whom they had gained by large promises to their party. Some time afterwards, Alexis came to Epigenes, and demanded, whether he had not received some letters from the rebels. Epigenes, not without some show of indignation, denied the charge. But Alexis, having replied that he would search, entered hastily into his apartments, found the letter, and upon that pretence immediately killed Epigenes. The king was prevailed on to believe that he had merited his fate; and those that were about the court, though they had some suspicion of the treachery, were restrained to silence by their fears.

The king now advanced towards the Euphrates, and being joined by the forces that were there, he continued his march from thence, and came to Antiochia in Mygdonia about the beginning of the winter. And having rested during forty days, till the extreme severity of the cold was passed, he again decamped, and arrived at Liba, and there called together his council, to deliberate on the route by which he should advance against the rebels, who were at this time in the neighbourhood of Babylon, and to consider also by what means the army might most

commodiously be furnished with provisions in their march. In this assembly it was urged by Hermias, that they should continue their route along the Tigris; by which means they would be covered not only by that river but by the Lycus also, and the Caprus. Zeuxis, to whose view the late lamentable fortune of Epigenes was present, for some time feared to declare his sentiments. But as the measure that was now proposed was sure to be attended with inevitable ruin, he at last ventured to advise, that they should pass the Tigris. He showed, "that in general the route along the river was very rough and difficult; that after having advanced to a considerable distance, and passed a desert also, which was not to be traversed in less than six days' march, they must at last arrive at the place that was called the Royal Camp; that if the enemy should first have gained possession of this post it would be impossible for them to advance beyond it; nor could they, on the other hand, return back again through the desert without the danger of being lost in their retreat, through the want of necessaries; whereas, on the other hand, if the king would now pass the river it was not to be doubted but that all the Apollonians would seize at once the occasion of his presence, and return again to their duty, since they were joined to Molon not by any affection, but by necessity and fear; that as the country was rich and fertile, the troops might from thence be

furnished with provisions in the greatest plenty; that Molon, being thus cut off from his return to Media, and deprived of the subsistence likewise which he had hitherto received from all this province, must of necessity be forced to venture on a battle; or in case he should decline it, that his troops would soon revolt, and run to embrace the party of the king." This opinion was consented to by all. They divided the army, therefore, into three separate bodies; passed the river in three different parts with all their baggage; and came to Dura, which was then besieged by one of the generals of Molon. But the siege was raised upon their first approach. They then continued ther march forwards without delay, and having on the eighth day passed beyond the Oricus, arrived at Apollonia.

When Molon was informed that Antiochus advanced fast towards him, distrusting on the one hand the fidelity of the people of Susiana and of Babylon, who had so lately been constrained to join his party, and dreading also, on the other hand, that his return to Media might be soon cut off, he resolved to lay a bridge across the Tigris, to transport his army over, and possess himself, before Antiochus, of those mountains that stood upon the borders of the Apollonian territory; being persuaded, that with the assistance of his Cyrtian slingers, who were very numerous, he should be able to maintain that post against the king. This design was imme-

diately carried into execution. He passed the river, and continued his march forwards with the greatest haste. But when he had just reached the mountains, his light-armed troops that were sent before, were met by those of the king, who had also begun his march from Apollonia with all his army. These troops at first engaged together in some slight skirmishes; but as the main bodies now approached, they severally retired, and encamped together with their respective armies, leaving the distance of about forty stadia between the camps.

When night came on, Molon, having considered with himself how difficult and dangerous it was to lead an army of rebels against their sovereign, face to face, and in the clear light of day, resolved to attack Antiochus in the night. He selected, therefore, all the bravest of his troops, and taking a circuit round, designed to choose some eminence, and to fall from thence upon the royal camp. But being informed that ten young soldiers had left him in the march, and gone to join the king, he was forced to desist from this design, and return back again to his own intrenchments, which he entered about break of day, and spread great disorder through all the camp. For the soldiers, being thus suddenly awakened from their sleep, were so terrified by the noise and tumult of his entry, that they began to fly with great precipitation from the camp. Molon employed all his pains to calm

their apprehensions, and, as effectually as the time would then permit, quieted the disorder.

As soon as day appeared, the king, having drawn out all his forces, ranged them in order of battle. Upon the right wing he placed first the cavalry that were armed with lances, under the command of Ardys, a general of consummate skill and bravery. Next to these were the Cretan troops; then the tectosages; after these, the Grecian mercenaries; and last of all, in the same line, the phalanx. Upon the left wing stood the cavalry, who were called the companions of the king. The elephants, which were ten in number, were stationed, at certain distances, in front of all the army. Some cohorts also both of infantry and cavalry were distributed into both the wings; with orders that they should surround the enemy, and fall upon their flank, as soon as the battle was begun. The king then went round the army, and raised the courage of the troops by a short harangue, such as the time required. He gave the care of the left wing to Hermias and Zeuxis, and himself commanded in the right.

Molon drew out likewise all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle, but not without the greatest difficulty; for the tumult and confusion that were raised in the night before had not yet subsided. At last, however, having observed the disposition of the enemy, he placed his cavalry also upon the wings; and the peltaphori, the Gauls, and all his heavy-armed forces in the

centre. The archers, slingers, and all the rest of the light-armed troops were thrown into the extremity of either wing; and the chariots, armed with falchions, were disposed, at certain distances, in the front of all the army. The left wing was commanded by his brother Neolas, and himself led the right.

The two armies now approached each other, and began the combat. The right wing of Molon remained firm to their engagements, and bravely sustained the charge of Zeuxis. But the left no sooner had beheld the presence of the king, then they joined themselves immediately to his party. This accident as it inspired the royal troops with double ardour, struck the rebels with consternation and despair. Molon, perceiving what had happened, and being already inclosed on every side, representing also to his mind the cruel torments which he must soon be forced to suffer in case that he should fall alive into the power of the enemy, killed himself with his own hands. The rest of the chiefs likewise, who had joined in the revolt, retired all to their several houses, and embraced a voluntary death. Neolas, escaping from the battle, fled into Persis, to Alexander the brother of Molon. And when he had first killed Molon's mother, together with his children, and prevailed on Alexander also to consent to die, he then pierced himself with his own sword, and fell upon their bodies. The king plundered the camp of the rebels; and ordered

the body of Molon to be exposed upon a cross in the most conspicuous part of Media. This accordingly was done. The body was removed into the district of Callonitis, and was there fixed upon a cross, upon the ascent of the mountain Zagrus. He then reproached the troops with their rebellion in a long and severe harangue; but gave them afterwards his hand in sign of pardon, and appointed some persons also to conduct them back again to Media, and to quiet the disorders of the country; while himself, returning to Seleucia, restored peace among the neighbouring provinces, and displayed in all his conduct not less gentleness than prudence. But Hermias, still inexorable and severe, urged the guilt of the people of Seleucia; imposed the payment of a thousand talents upon the city; drove into banishment the magistrates; and dismembered, tortured, and destroyed great numbers of the inhabitants. The king exerted all his power to restrain this fury; employing sometimes entreaties and persuasions, and sometimes interposing his authority. He lessened also the fine that was at first demanded from the citizens, and exacted a hundred and fifty talents only, in full punishment of their offence. And thus, though not without great difficulty, he at last calmed their minds, and restored quiet to the city. When this was done, he appointed Diogenes to be governor of Media, and Apollodorus of Susiana; and sent Tychon, the chief

secretary, to command in the parts that bordered upon the Red Sea. Such was the end of the revolt of Molon, and of the disorders that were occasioned by it in the upper provinces.

The king, elate with this success, and being willing also to restrain, for the time to come, the barbarous states that were contiguous to his kingdom from assisting his rebellious subjects with supplies or troops, resolved now to turn his arms against Artabazanes, who governed the Atropatians, with some others of the neighbouring nations, and who, of all the princes of the country, was the most considerable in strength and power. Hermias, apprehending still the danger that must attend an expedition into these upper provinces, for some time stood averse to this design, and was eager to resume his former project, of engaging in a war with Ptolemy. But when he heard that a son was born to the king, he began to reflect within himself that among those barbarous nations some misfortune possibly might happen to Antiochus, and that many occasions would arise in which he might be deprived of life. He consented, therefore, to all that was proposed; being persuaded, that if he could once be able to destroy the king he should become the guardian of his son, and master of all the kingdom. When the affair was thus decided, Antiochus began his march with all his forces, passed beyond the Zagrus, and entered the territory of Artabazanes, which lies close to

Media, and is only separated from it by a chain of mountains. It extends towards those parts of the Pontus which are above the river Phasis, and approaches also very near to the Hyrcanian sea. The country abounds with people who are robust and valiant, and especially with horses; and produces likewise every kind of necessaries that are required in war. This kingdom, having never been subdued by Alexander, had remained entire from the time of the destruction of the Persian empire. But Artabazanes, struck with terror at the king's approach, and being also at this time very far advanced in age, yielded to the necessity that pressed him, and submitted without reserve to such conditions as were demanded by the king.

About this time Apollophanes, who was physician to Antiochus, and who stood in a high degree of favour with him, observing that the insolence and the ambitious views of Hermias no longer were restrained within any bounds, began to entertain some apprehensions with respect to the person of the king, and was still more alarmed by his fears for his own life and safety. He chose the time, therefore, that was most favourable to his purpose, and pressed Antiochus to raise himself from his security; to be upon his guard against the daring spirit of this minister, and to obviate in time that lamentable fate in which his brother had so lately perished. He assured him that the danger was already very near; and

begged that he would pursue without delay such measures as might best secure both himself and all his friends. Antiochus, upon this discourse, acknowledged that he both feared and hated Hermias; and thanked Apollophanes for his concern, and for the courage also which he had shown in speaking to him upon such a subject. Apollophanes was overjoyed to find that he had formed so true a judgement of the sentiments and disposition of the king. And when Antiochus desired him not to be content with words alone, but endeavour rather, in conjunction with himself, to find out some effectual remedy against the danger, he assured him that he was ready to obey all his orders. Their design was soon concerted. On pretence that the king was seized with a giddiness in his head, the servants of his chamber, with all the ordinary guards, were for some days removed, and his friends alone were admitted to his presence; by which means there was full time and opportunity to communicate the secret to such persons as were proper to be trusted. When they had gained the number that was sufficient for their purpose, a task which, as Hermias was so generally detested, was by no means difficult, they prepared to carry their project into execution. The physicans advised that the king should walk abroad as soon as it was day to take the benefit of the cold morning air. At the appointed time Hermias was ready to attend him, together with those friends that were engaged in

the design. But the rest of the court were absent, not expecting that the king would appear abroad at so unusual an hour. When they were come to a certain solitary place at some distance from the camp, the king turned aside as if to satisfy some necessary occasion, and they then stabbed Hermias with their poniards. Thus fell this minister by a punishment that was far too gentle for his crimes. Antiochus, being thus delivered from his fears, immediately decamped, and directed his route back again to Syria. In every place through which he passed, his actions all were celebrated by the people with the loudest praise; and above the rest, the fate which he had decreed to Hermias. About the same time also, the wife of Hermias was killed at Apamea by the women of the city, and his children by the children.

As soon as the king arrived at home, and had dismissed his army to their winter quarters, he sent letters to Achæus filled with expostulations and reproaches, on account of his having dared to place upon his head the royal diadem, and usurped the name of king. He assured him, likewise, that he was well acquainted with the measures which he had concerted with king Ptolemy, and that in general he was perfectly informed of those rebellious projects which he had designed against him. For while Antiochus was engaged in his expedition against Artabazanes, Achæus, being persuaded either that the king would perish in the war, or that, before he could

be able to return again from a country so remote, himself might enter Syria with an army, and with the assistance of the Cyrrhestæ, who had just before revolted, might force that kingdom to receive his yoke, began his march from Lydia with all his army; and when he arrived at Laodicea in Phrygia, he there first assumed the diadem, and wrote letters in the royal name to all the cities; being encouraged chiefly in this design by a certain exile whose name was Synuris. But as he continued his march forwards, and was ready just to enter Lycaonia, the troops beginning to perceive that his intention was to lead them against their natural prince, fell into discontent and mutiny. Achæus, therefore, after this declaration of their sentiments, desisted from his project; and in order to convince the army that he never had designed to enter Syria, he changed the direction of his march, and pillaged the province of Pisidia. And having thus, by the booty that was made, regained the confidence and favour of the troops, he returned back again to his own home. But Antiochus had been fully informed of all that was designed against him. He sent, therefore, as we have said, continual messengers to threaten and reproach Achæus; and, in the mean while, employed his whole pains and diligence in completing all the necessary preparations for his war with Ptolemy.

As the spring approached, having drawn together to Apamea all his forces, he held there a

consultation with his friends to deliberate on the manner in which he best might enter Cœle-syria. Upon this occasion, when many long discourses had been made concerning the nature of the country, the preparations that were necessary, and the advantage of employing a naval armament, Apollophanes, whom we have lately mentioned, and who was a native of Seleucia, cut short at once every opinion that had been proposed, and said; "that it seemed to be in a high degree absurd to show so great eagerness and haste to conquer Cœle-syria; while, at the same time, Seleucia, the capital of the kingdom, and their sacred seat of empire, was still suffered to remain in the hands of Ptolemy; that besides the dishonour that was reflected upon the king from suffering his chief city to be possessed by an Ægyptian garrison, the place itself was such as would afford many very great advantages for the conduct of the war; that while an enemy was master of it, it must prove a constant obstacle in the way of all their enterprises; since whenever they should attempt to advance into a distant province, the danger which would constantly hang over their own kingdom from this city, would oblige them to employ not less pains and preparation to secure the several posts at home, than those that would be requisite in their expedition against the enemy abroad; but that, on the other hand, if they could once regain pos-

session of this place, as their own kingdom would by that means be perfectly secured from insult, so the happy situation also of the city might enable them to pursue with great advantage all their other projects both by land and sea." These sentiments were approved by all the council. It was resolved, therefore, to begin the war with attempting to retake Seleucia; which had been possessed by an Ægyptian garrison from the time of Ptolemy Euergetes. For this prince, in resentment of the death of Berenice, had entered Syria with an army, and made himself master of this city. When the affair was thus determined, the king ordered Diognetus to steer his course towards Seleucia with the fleet, while himself began his march from Apamea, and came and encamped near the Circus, at the distance of five stadia from the city. He sent also Theodotus, the Hermionian, into Cœle-syria with a sufficient body of forces to secure the passes, and to be ready to act on that side as occasion should require.

The situation of Seleucia, with the country round it, is as follows. The city stands very near the sea, between Cilicia and Phœnice, at the foot of a mountain of an uncommon height, which is called Coryphæus. This mountain, on the western side, is washed by the sea that divides Cyprus and Phœnice; and, on the side towards the east, it commands the country that lies round

Antiochia and Seleucia. The city itself, being situated on the southern side of the mountain, and separated from it by a valley very deep and steep, winds away towards the sea, and is surrounded on almost every side by broken rocks and precipices. In the plain, between the city and the sea, are the markets and the suburbs, which are strongly fortified with walls. The city also is enclosed with walls of an uncommon strength and beauty, and is adorned with temples and other sumptuous edifices. On the side towards the sea it can only be approached by a steep ascent of steps, which are cut close and deep into the rocks. Not far from the city is the mouth of the river Orontes; which takes its source near the Libanus and Antilibanus, and passing through the plains of Amyca, flows on to Antiochia, and, having cleansed that city of all its filth, falls at last into the sea of Cyprus near Seleucia.

Antiochus, upon his first approach, endeavoured, by the assurance of very great rewards, to prevail on the chief governors to surrender the city to him. But when all his offers were rejected he found means to gain some of the inferior officers to his party; and trusting to the assistance which these had promised, he resolved immediately to attack the city on the side towards the sea with the naval forces, and with the land army on the opposite side. He divided the troops, therefore, into three separate bodies, and

having encouraged them as the occasion required, and promised crowns and great rewards both to the officers and soldiers, he posted Zeuxis, with the forces that were under his command, against the gates which led to Antiochia, and Hermogenes on the side that looked towards Dioscurium. Ardys and Diognetus were commanded also to attack the port and suburbs. For the officers, that were corrupted by the king, had promised that, as soon as he should have forced the suburbs, they would deliver the city to him. The signal was now given for the attack, and the troops advanced from every part with vigour; but chiefly those that were led by Ardys and Diognetus. For, on the other sides, the soldiers were forced to crawl to a considerable distance upon their hands and feet, and at the same time defend themselves against the enemy, before they could attempt to scale the walls. But in the port and suburbs there was full room to advance, and to fix their ladders, even without resistance. While he forces, therefore, from the fleet scaled the port, Ardys having, at the same time, forced his way into the suburbs, became master of them with little difficulty. For those that were within the city, being themselves closely pressed on every side, were not able to send any assistance to the rest. When the king was thus master of the suburbs, the officers who had been gained over to his interests ran together to Leontius, the governor of the city, and urged him to send a de-

putation to Antiochus, and endeavour to obtain some fair conditions from him, before the city also should be stormed. Leontius, not suspecting any treachery, and being himself struck also with the consternation which these men now assumed, sent and demanded from Antiochus a promise of life and safety for all that were within the city. The king consented that those who were of free condition should be safe. The number of them was about six thousand. He then entered the city, and not only spared the inhabitants that were free, but permitted those also that had fled from the city to return; and restored to them their possessions, with all their former rights. He secured also, by a sufficient garrison, the port and citadel.

CHAP. VI.

WHILE Antiochus was thus employed, he received letters from Theodotus, who pressed him to advance into Cœle-syria without delay, and promised to deliver up the province to him. The king was for some time doubtful and irresolute, and knew not what measures were the best to be pursued. Theodotus, as we have already mentioned, was an Ætolian by his birth, and had performed great services for Ptolemy; but instead of being able to obtain any suitable reward, he on the contrary had almost lost his life. At the time therefore in which Antiochus was engaged in his expedition against Molon, perceiving clearly that no favour was to be expected from king Ptolemy, and that the courtiers also had resolved to work his ruin, he prevailed on Panætolus to secure the city of Tyre, while himself seized Ptolemais; and now pressed Antiochus with the greatest earnestness to attempt the conquest of the province. The king, therefore, having at last resolved to suspend awhile his designs against Achæus, began his march towards Cœle-syria, by the same route which he before had taken; passed through the Vale of Marsyas, and encamped near the fortress Gerrha,

which was situated in the extremity of the valley, upon the lake that covered the defile. But being informed that Nicolaus, one of the generals of Ptolemy, had invested Theodotus in Ptolemais, he advanced in haste with the light armed troops, with design to raise the siege; having left behind him all his heavy forces, and given orders to the generals to lay siege to Brochi, the other fortress, which stood also upon the lake, and served to guard the entrance of the defile. Nicolaus no sooner heard that the king approached, than he immediately retired; and sent Lagoras a Cretan, and Dorymenes an Ætolian, to secure the passes that were near Berytus. But the king, upon his first approach, attacked and drove them from their post, and encamped near the passes. And having there received the rest of the troops as they came up, and encouraged them by such words as his designs required, he continued his march forwards, elate with his success and filled with the fairest hopes. About this time also Theodotus and Panætolus, with all their friends, advanced to join him, and were received with the greatest marks of favour. The king then took possession of Tyre and Ptolemais, with all the armaments and stores. Among these were forty vessels; of which twenty, that were decked ships, completely fitted and equipped, carried each of them at least four ranks of oars. The rest were triremes, biremes, and single boats.

The king left the care of all this fleet to Diognetus: and having been informed that Ptolemy had retired to Memphis, and that the forces of the kingdom were drawn together at Pelusium; that the sluices all were opened, and the sweet waters diverted from their course; he desisted from his first design of marching to attack Pelusium, and leading his army round the country, drew the cities to submission, some by gentle means, and some by force. For those that were slightly fortified surrendered to him at his first approach. But others, which were strongly situated, and well supplied with stores, remained firm against all persuasion, and forced him to encamp before them, and employ much time and pains to reduce them by a regular siege.

During this time, Ptolemy, whose dominions, thus perfidiously attacked, demanded the earliest care, remained wholly insensible of all that was transacted, and showed not even the least desire to revenge the insult. Such was the weakness of this lazy and luxurious prince; and so great his disregard of every thing that related to the affairs of war. But, Sosibius and Agathocles, who were the first in the administration of the kingdom, agreed together, to pursue those measures, which, were, indeed, the best that could be taken in the present circumstances. For they resolved, that they would make all the necessary preparations for the war with the

greatest diligence, and, in the mean while, send ambassadors to Antiochus to treat of peace: being persuaded, that, by this contrivance, they should give a present check to the ardour of that prince, and confirm the opinion which he had conceived of Ptolemy, that he would, by no means, venture to take arms against him, but rather try to terminate the dispute by conferences, and with the assistance of his friends prevail upon him to retire again from Cœlesyria. When the project was thus concerted, and themselves also charged with the management and execution of it, they dispatched an embassy to Antiochus without delay. At the same time, they engaged the Rhodians also, and Byzantines, with the Cyzicenians and Ætolians, to send some deputies to mediate a peace. And, while these different embassies went and returned again between the kings, they had themselves full leisure to complete their preparations for the war. For having fixed their residence in Memphis, they there gave audience to the ambassadors, and received those especially, that came to them from Antiochus, with great marks of favour, but sent, at the same time, secret orders for drawing together to Alexandria, all the mercenaries that were employed in any of the provinces abroad. They made new levies also; and provided such supplies of corn and other stores as were sufficient, not only for the troops that were then assembled, but for all those

likewise who should afterwards arrive to join them. They went down also, from time to time, in turn, to Alexandria; that, by their presence, all things might be obtained, that were in any manner necessary for the war.

The care of providing proper arms, together with the choice and disposition of the troops, was intrusted to Echecrates of Thessaly, Phoxidas a Melitæan, Eurylochus a Magnesian, Socrates of Bœotia, and Cnopias a citizen of Alorus. For it happened, most fortunately indeed, at this juncture, that these men were present in the country; who, from having served in the wars of Demetrius and Antigonus, had gained some knowledge of real service, and were acquainted with the manner of conducting an army in the field. They began, therefore, to train all the troops anew, according to the rules of military science: distributing into separate bodies, the soldiers of a different age or country, and giving to each the most useful kind of arms, in the room of those to which they had been before accustomed. They changed the form of the enrolments in which the troops were registered; and having established new and different orders, more suitable to the present times, they taught, by continual exercise, every separate body, not only to be obedient to command, but also to perform with ease, all the steps and motions that belonged to their respective arms. They appointed all

general reviews, and spared no pains to encourage the troops with hopes, or to instruct them in their duty. In this task, they received no small assistance from Andromachus of Aspendus, and Polycrates of Argos, who had lately arrived from Greece, and brought with them all the skill and martial ardour, for which the people of that country are so justly celebrated. They were both distinguished likewise by the splendour of their families, and their wealth, Polycrates especially, not only derived his birth from a very ancient house, but was illustrious also from the glory which Mnasiadas, his father, had acquired, by his victories in the public games. These men now exerted all their efforts to instruct and animate the troops: and, both by their harangues in public to the army, as well as by their private admonitions, they, by degrees, inspired them with full confidence and courage.

Among the generals, every one was appointed to the charge which seemed most perfectly adapted to his talents and peculiar skill. Eurylochus, the Magnesian, commanded a body of three thousand men, who were called the royal guard; and Socrates of Bœotia, the peltastæ, in number about two thousand. Phoxidas the Achæan, with Ptolemy the son of Thraseas, and Andromachus of Aspendus, exercised together in a body, the phalanx and the Grecian mercenaries. The phalanx, which consisted of twenty-five thousand men, was com-

manded by Ptolemy and Andromachus: and the mercenaries, who were about eight thousand, by Phoxidas. Seven hundred horse, which belonged also to the royal guard, the cavalry from Afric, and that which had been levied in the country, the whole amounting to about three thousand, were both exercised and commanded likewise by Polycrates. Echecrates also, the Thessalian, to whom the Grecian and all the foreign cavalry, to the number of two thousand, was intrusted, had trained and disciplined them with such perfect skill and judgement, that they performed the greatest service afterwards in the battle. But, among all the rest, there was none that surpassed Cnopias of Alorus, in the management of the troops that were intrusted to his care. These were ten thousand Cretans; among whom were a thousand Neocretans, commanded by Philo, a citizen of Cnossus. There were also among the troops, three thousand Africans, armed after the Macedonian manner, and led by Ammonius of Barce; and a phalanx likewise of Ægyptians, composed of twenty thousand men, and commanded by Sosibius. They had also a body of Gauls and Thracians; among whom four thousand were the established troops that had long been settled in the country; and two thousand of them were lately raised. At the head of these was Dionysius, who was by birth a Thracian. Such were the numbers, and the different nations, of which the army of Ptolemy was now composed.

During this time, Antiochus continued to press the siege of Dura. But his efforts all were fruitless: both because the place was by nature strongly fortified, and the garrison also reinforced, from time to time, by the care of Nicolaus. As the winter, therefore, now approached, he yielded to the ambassadors of Ptolemy, consented to a truce of four months' continuance, and declared, that he was even ready to put an end to the whole dispute, upon conditions the most just and reasonable. This assurance was, however, very different from his real sentiments. But he was now impatient to return, that his troops might take their winter quarters in Seleucia. For it was now clear, beyond all doubt, that Achæus had formed designs against him, and was joined in close connexion with king Ptolemy. He dismissed, therefore, the ambassadors, with orders, that they should hasten to return again, and meet him at Seleucia, bringing with them the last determination of their master. He then placed garrisons in all the proper posts, and having left the care of the province to Theodotus, began his march back towards Seleucia, and there sent his army into winter quarters. Nor was he, after this time, in the least solicitous to exercise the troops: being persuaded, that the dispute would soon be brought to a decision without having recourse again to arms. For he flattered himself, that as he already had subdued many parts of Cœle-

syria and Phœnice, the rest would be yielded to him in a conference; and that Ptolemy would never dare to risk a general battle. His ambassadors were also fixed in the same opinion; being deceived by the civilities that were shown towards them by Sosibius. For this minister had detained them with him still at Memphis, and covered from their knowledge all the preparations that were at the same time made at Alexandria. By this artful management, when the ambassadors again returned, he was himself alike prepared either for peace or war.

But Antiochus, as he had already subdued his enemies in the field, resolved, if possible, to show himself superior also in the conferences. When the ambassadors therefore met him at Seleucia, and began to propose the conditions of the peace agreeably to their instructions from Sosibius, the king declared, that it was absurd to say, that he had offered any injury to Ptolemy, by entering Cœle-syria with an army; since he had endeavoured only to recover the possession of a country, which belonged to him by a proper right. He showed, that Antigonus, who was surnamed Cocles, had first subdued this province; and that Seleucus afterwards obtained possession of it: that his own claim was founded upon these strong titles, too clear to be disputed; and that from thence it must be acknowledged, that the country belonged to him alone, and not to Ptolemy. That it was true, indeed,

that Ptolemy had declared war against Antigonus; but that he had no design to join the province to his own dominions, but only to secure the sovereignty of it to Seleucus. Above all the rest, he urged the joint determination of the kings Lysimachus, Cassander, and Seleucus; who, when they had defeated Antigonus in battle, resolved, with one consent, that all Syria should be yielded to Seleucus.

In reply to all these reasons, the ambassadors on the other side insisted with no small earnestness, that the treason of Theodotus, and the invasion of Cœle-syria by Antiochus, were a gross and notorious insult, and an open violation of the rights of Ptolemy. They said that Ptolemy the son of Lagus had fairly acquired the sovereignty of the province: and that the assistance, which he furnished to Seleucus in the war, was expressly sent upon these conditions; that Seleucus should possess all Asia, but that Cœle-syria and Phœnice should be left to Ptolemy.

In this manner was the contest long supported, in the course of many deputations and debates, without any prospect of agreement. For as the conferences all were held by the friends alone of either party, there were none that could interpose between them, to moderate and restrain their warmth, whenever they attempted to extend their claims beyond the bounds of justice. The business also of Achæus was

found to be a matter even of greater difficulty than the rest. For it was strongly urged by Ptolemy, that he should be included in the treaty. But Antiochus would scarcely suffer it to be proposed; but exclaimed against it as a most intolerable insult that Ptolemy should presume to interpose in favour of a traitor, or even so much as name a man, who had rebelled against his natural prince.

While each side thus endeavoured to maintain their ground, the spring at last came on, before the contest was in any point decided. Antiochus, therefore, drew together all his forces, designing to attack Cœle-syria both by land and sea, and make himself master of the other parts of the province. At the same time Ptolemy, having intrusted the conduct of the war to Nicolaus, sent large supplies of stores to Gaza, and ordered his fleet to advance, together with a land army. When the troops arrived, the general in concert with Perigenes, who commanded the naval forces, and who was ready to comply with all his orders, began with great alacrity to make the necessary disposition for securing the country against the enemy. The fleet was composed of thirty decked vessels, with more than four hundred ships of transport. Nicolaus himself was an Ætolian by birth; and was not inferior, either in courage or experience, to any of the generals of Ptolemy. He sent away a part of his army, to possess themselves

of the defiles of Platanus; while himself, encamping with the rest near Porphyreon, resolved, with the assistance of the fleet which was stationed near him, to oppose on that side the entrance of the king.

Antiochus, arriving now at Marathos, and being met there by the people of Aradus, who came to offer to him their assistance in the war, not only received them into his alliance, but quieted also some contentions which had been long maintained between the Aradians of the island, and those that lived upon the continent. He then entered Syria, along the mountain called Theoprosopon, and came to Berytus; having taken Botrys in his march, and set fire to Calamus and Trieres. And when he had sent away Nicarchus and Theodotus, to secure the passes that were near the river Lycus, he from thence continued his march forwards, and encamped upon the banks of the Damura; being still followed by his fleet, which sailed along the coast as he advanced, under the command of Diognetus. From this place, being now joined again by Theodotus and Nicarchus, with the light-armed troops, he advanced to take a view of those defiles that were possessed by Nicolaus; and having carefully observed the nature of the ground, as well as the strength and situation of the several posts, he then returned back again to his camp.

On the following day, having left behind him

all his heavy forces under the care of Nicarchus, he advanced with the rest of the army to attack the enemy in these defiles. The place in which Nicolaus now was posted, was a narrow ground which lay between mount Libanus and the sea, and was covered also by an eminence, very rough and steep, and which left the passage along the shore extremely close and difficult. He had placed in every part that was commodious for it a numerous body of troops; and having thrown up also various works, he flattered himself that he should be able, without much difficulty, to prevent the enemy from penetrating through the passes.

Antiochus divided all his forces into three separate bodies, and gave one of them to Theodotus with orders that he should dislodge the enemy from their posts at the foot of the mountain Libanus; and that the second, which was led by Menedemus, at the same time should employ their utmost efforts to force their passage along the middle of the eminence. The last division was posted close upon the shore under the command of Diocles, the governor of Parapotamia. The king himself attended by his guards, took his station in the middle; that from thence he might be able to discern all that passed, and to send assistance as occasion should require. At the same time Diognetus and Perigenes made all things ready for the engagement; having drawn their fleets very near

to shore, and formed them into such a disposition that they seemed to make one front with their respective armies. The signal now was made, and the battle at once begun both by land and sea. Upon the sea, because the strength and number of the combatants were nearly equal the success was also equal. But by land Nicolaus, assisted by his situation, at first gained some advantage in the action. But when Theodotus, having forced the enemy from their posts along the foot of the mountain, fell afterwards with violence upon them from the higher ground, they then fled with great precipitation. About two thousand of them were killed in the pursuit, and an equal number taken prisoners. The rest escaped to Sidon. Perigenes also, though he had hitherto maintained the fight upon the sea with the fairest prospect of success, no sooner saw that the army was completely routed than he was struck with consternation, and retreated likewise with the fleet towards the same place without any loss.

Antiochus, taking with him all his forces, came and encamped before Sidon. But as the city was completely filled with stores, and the number of the inhabitants who were now also joined by those that had fled from the late engagement very great, he made no attempt to take the place: but continued his march forwards towards Philoteria; and sent orders to Diognetus, that he should sail with the fleet to

Tyre. Philoteria lies close upon the borders of that lake, into which the river Jordan enters; and from whence, flowing out again, it passes through those plains in which the city of Scythopolis is situated. The king, having obtained possession of both these places, which were surrendered to him upon conditions, was now filled with the fairest hopes with regard to the final issue of the war. For the country, that was subject to these cities, was such as would afford very large supplies, sufficient for all the army; and furnish them with every kind of necessaries in the greatest plenty. Having left in both a proper garrison, he then passed beyond the mountains, and came to Atabyrium; which was situated upon a hill of a globular form, whose height was more than fifteen stadia. In order to become master of this city he employed the following stratagem. Having engaged the inhabitants in a skirmish, he directed his own troops to retreat, as if they had fled before them: and when he had thus drawn the enemy to a considerable distance, facing suddenly round again, and at the same time sending orders to some troops that were placed in ambuscade to rise and join in the attack, he killed great numbers of them, and pursuing closely after those that fled, took advantage of their consternation, and entered the city with them without resistance.

About this time, Ceræas, one of the generals

of Ptolemy, came and joined Antiochus; who received him with such high marks of honour that many other commanders also were soon afterwards induced to follow the example. Among these was Hippolochus of Thessaly; who brought likewise with him a body of four hundred horse.

The king, having secured Atabyrium by a garrison, began his march; and as he advanced took Pella, Camus, and Gephrus. After this success all the people who inhabited the neighbouring places of Arabia urged each other to submit, and with one consent embraced his party. Having received, therefore, from them some provisions for his army, he again continued his march forwards, full of joy and confidence, and passing through the district of Gladiatis, made himself master of Abila, taking prisoners also the troops that were drawn together for its defence, under the command of Nicias, who was the kinsman and friend of Meneas. Gadara, which was esteemed to be the strongest of all the cities that were in that part of the country, still remained to be subdued. But no sooner had the king encamped before it, and begun to advance his works, than the inhabitants were struck with terror, and surrendered. Being now informed, that the enemy had assembled in great numbers at Rabatamana, a city of Arabia, and from thence made incursions upon the lands of those Arabians who had submitted to him, he

immediately began his march in haste, and came and encamped near the hills, upon which the city was built. And when he had surveyed it round on every side, and remarked that there were two places only by which it was possible to approach it, he there planted his machines, and made the necessary disposition for the attack. The batteries on one side were commanded by Nicarchus, and on the other by Theodotus; while the king attended alike to both with equal vigilance, and observed the zealous emulation of the generals. As the attack was made by both with the greatest vigour, and each contended to be the first in battering down the part against which his own machines were pointed, on a sudden, when it scarcely was expected, the wall on both sides fell. After this success they renewed their assaults against the place continually, with the utmost force and fury, both by night and day. As the numbers however of those that were within the city were very great, their efforts all were ineffectual. But after some time, being informed by one of the prisoners that were taken, of a certain subterraneous passage, from which the besieged were supplied with water, they filled the mouth of it with wood and stones and other such materials: and thus in a short time forced the inhabitants through want of water to surrender. The king left Nicarchus in the place with a sufficient garrison: and sent

away Hippolochus and Ceræas, with a body of five thousand infantry towards Samaria; to cover the frontiers of the country from all insult, and to protect the people who had submitted to him. He then began his march to Ptolemais with all the army, designing to pass the winter in that city.

CHAP. VII.

IN the course of the same summer, the Pednelissians being besieged by the Selgians, and reduced to great extremity, solicited some assistance from Achæus: and having obtained a favourable answer, they sustained the siege with constancy, in the hope that in a short time they should be relieved. Achæus sent accordingly to their assistance Garsyeris, with six thousand infantry and five hundred horse. The Selgians, being informed of his approach, posted the greatest part of their troops in the defile called Climax; secured the approaches to Saporda; and broke up all the roads. Garsyeris continuing still to advance, entered Milyas and encamped near Cretopolis. But when he found that the enemy had possessed themselves of all the passes, and stopped his farther progress,

he employed the following stratagem. Having ordered his army to decamp, he directed his route back again, as if he had lost all hope of being able to succour the besieged. The Selgians, not suspecting any fraud, left their posts and retired, some of them to their camp and some into the city: for it was now the time of harvest. But Garsyeris, returning in a short time afterwards by quick and continued marches, seized the passes, which were left without defence; and having secured them all by sufficient guards, under the command of Phaylus, he advanced with the rest of his troops to Perga: and from thence sent deputations to all the people of Pisidia and Pamphylia, exhorting them to secure themselves in time against the growing power of the Selgians, to enter into an alliance with Achæus, and to join their forces with him to assist the Pednelissians. In the mean while the Selgians, being persuaded that, by their knowledge of the country, they should soon be able to strike a terror into Phaylus, sent away a body of troops to dislodge him from his posts. But so far were they from being able to accomplish their design, that, on the contrary, they lost many of their men. They desisted, therefore, from this attempt, and returning again to the business of the siege, began to press the city more closely than before.

About this time, the Etenneans, who inhabited the mountainous parts of Pisidia beyond

Sida, joined Garsyeris with eight thousand heavy-armed troops; and the people of Aspendus with four thousand. But, those of Sida refused to take any part in this confederacy: partly, because they were disposed to favour the interests of Antiochus; but, chiefly, because they hated the Aspendians. Garsyeris, having increased his army by these new forces, advanced towards Pednelissus; being persuaded that the Selgians, upon his first approach, would raise the siege. But, as he was wholly disappointed in this hope, he encamped at a moderate distance from them; and, being desirous to relieve the Pednelissians, who were now much pressed by famine, he ordered two thousand men, carrying each a measure of corn, to enter the city in the night: but the Selgians, informed of their approach, fell upon them in their march, killed the greatest part of the detachment, and carried away the corn. After this success, they resolved, not only still to press the siege of the city as before, but even to invest Garsyeris also in his camp. For, in the affairs of war, the Selgians are always very bold and enterprising, even to rashness.

Leaving, therefore, behind them the forces only that were necessary to guard their own intrenchments, they advanced with the rest of their army, and fell with fury upon the camp of the enemy, in many parts at once. Garsyeris, being thus suddenly beset with danger upon

every side, and perceiving, that in many places his intrenchments were already forced, sent away all his cavalry, through a certain passage that was left open by the enemy. The Selgians, imagining that they had retreated from the camp through fear, and were hastening to escape by flight, made no attempt to intercept or stop them. But these troops having taken a circuit round, fell suddenly upon the enemy in their rear, with great force and fury. The infantry also, though they were almost forced from the intrenchments, resumed again their courage, and returned boldly to the charge. The Selgians, being thus pressed on every side, were at last constrained to fly. At the same time, the Pednelissians from the city attacked the troops that were left to guard the intrenchments, and drove them from their camp. As they all fled different ways, not fewer than ten thousand of them were destroyed in the pursuit. Among those that were able to escape, the allies retired to their respective cities; and the Selgians, directing their flight across the mountains, returned back again to their own country.

Garsyeris immediately decamped, and pursued with the greatest haste; designing to pass through the defiles, and to appear in sight of Selga, before the inhabitants should be recovered from their consternation, or find time to take the measures that were necessary for their defence. He came accordingly, with all his army, and

encamped near the city. The Selgians, disheartened by their late defeat, and not expecting any farther succours from their allies, who had also been involved in the same misfortune, began to apprehend, that both their country and themselves were now lost without resource. Having called together, therefore, an assembly, they resolved to depute to Garsyeris one of their citizens, whose name was Logbasis. This man had been the guest and intimate friend of that Antiochus who died in Thrace: and, having been intrusted by him at his death, with the charge of Laodice, who was afterwards married to Achæus, he had educated her as his own proper daughter, with a true parental tenderness and care. The Selgians therefore were persuaded, that no one was more fit to be employed at this conjuncture. But Logbasis, when he had entered into private conference with Garsyeris, so far forgot his duty to his country, that instead of performing the service that was expected from him, he, on the contrary, pressed this general to send and call Achæus without delay, and promised to betray the city to them. Garsyeris received this offer with the greatest joy, and immediately dispatched some messengers to inform Achæus of the accident. And having consented to a truce with the Selgians, he found means to delay, from time to time, the conclusion of the treaty, inventing still new doubts and difficulties, with design

to afford full leisure for Achæus to arrive, and that Logbasis might be able also to prepare, in concert with himself, the measures that were necessary for the execution of the project.

During this time, as frequent deputations went and returned on either side, it grew at last to be the common practice of the soldiers to go from the camp into the city to procure provisions; an indulgence which, in various instances, had proved the cause of utter ruin and destruction. For my own part, indeed, I am inclined to believe that man, who is esteemed more dexterous and artful than any other animal, is in truth of all most open to surprise and fraud. How many camps and garrisons, how many of the strongest cities, have fallen a prey to this very kind of treachery? Yet though the examples are thus frequent and notorious, we still, I know not how, are novices with respect to all such enterprises, through the want of paying a due attention to those misfortunes in which others, from their negligence, have been involved. We employ great pains and cost to draw together money and stores to fortify our towns with walls, and to fill our magazines with arms, in order to secure ourselves against all sudden accidents; but totally neglect those means of safety which may be acquired with far greater ease, and which afford a sure resource in every dangerous conjuncture; I mean that knowledge of all past transactions which is supplied by history, and which always

may be gained, with not less pleasure than advantage, even in the shade of a safe and honourable repose.

Achæus arrived at the expected time; and the Selgians, after they had been admitted to a conference with him, flattered themselves with the hope that they should be able to obtain the most favourable terms of peace. Logbasis, who from time to time had drawn together in small numbers to his house the soldiers that came into the city from the camp, now pressed the citizens to assemble all the people, to take advantage of the favourable disposition of Achæus, and to bring the treaty to its last conclusion. The Selgians met together, therefore, in a general assembly; and, as if they had been secure of bringing the affair to a speedy issue, permitted even the guards to retire from their several posts. At this time Logbasis, having given the signal to the enemy, ordered the soldiers that were with him to stand ready for the engagement, and armed himself also and his sons. Achæus, taking with him one half of his forces, approached near the city; while Garsyeris with the rest directed his march towards a temple of Jupiter called Cesbedium, which stood as a kind of citadel, and commanded all the city. But a certain shepherd, having perceived by accident what was done, informed the assembly of it. The soldiers ran in haste, one part towards Cesbedium and the rest to the other posts; and the people, inflamed with rage, to the

house of Logbasis. And finding there a clear discovery of the treason, some of them climbed up to the roof, while others forced their entrance through the doors, and killed Logbasis and his sons, and all the rest that were with him in the house. They then proclaimed liberty to the slaves, and having divided themselves into several bodies, took possession of all the advantageous posts. When Garsyeris saw that Cesbedium was already secured against him, he desisted at once from his design. Achæus, on the contrary, endeavoured to force his entrance through the gates. But the Selgians advanced against him, killed seven hundred of his men, and at last constrained him to retire again with Garsyeris towards his camp. But after this success, being apprehensive that some disorders might happen in the city, and dreading also the dangers of a siege, they deputed some of their oldest citizens, in the habits of submission, to Achæus; who consented to a treaty with them upon these conditions: "That they should immediately pay four hundred talents, and, after a certain time, three hundred more; and restore all their prisoners to the Pednelissians." Thus the Selgians by their bravery saved their country from the ruin which the impious treachery of Logbasis had almost brought upon it; and displayed such courage as indeed was worthy of a free and generous people, descended from the stock of Sparta. Achæus, having reduced Milyas, with the greater

part also of Pamphylia, continued his march to Sardes; and from thence made perpetual incursions into the territories of Attalus; threatened Prusias with a war; and became very formidable to all the states that were on this side of mount Taurus.

During the time in which Achæus was employed in the siege of Selga, Attalus, taking with him a body of the Gauls called tectosages, advanced through the country to recover again the towns of Æolis, with the rest of the cities also that were near, which through terror had submitted to Achæus. The greater part of these immediately surrendered, and were even pleased to be received under his protection. A small number only were reduced by force. Among the first were Cyme, Smyrna, and Phocæa. Temnus also and Ægea were struck with terror at his approach, and readily submitted. The Teians and the Colophonians sent some deputies to meet him, and surrendered their cities at discretion. He granted to them the same conditions as before, and took some hostages of their fidelity. But among all the rest the ambassadors from Smyrna were received with the greatest marks of favour; because the people of that city had persisted always in a close attachment to his interests. From hence, continuing his march forwards, and passing the river Lycus, he traversed Mysia, struck with terror the garrisons of Didyma and Carsa, and gained possession of

both those fortresses, which were surrendered to him by Themistocles, whom Achæus had intrusted with the government of that part of the country. Having then wasted all the plain of Apia, he passed the mountain Pelecas, and came and encamped near the river Megistus. During his stay in this place there happened to be an eclipse of the moon. The Gauls, who had long supported with the greatest pain the difficulty of a march, in which their wives and children followed them in chariots, regarded this event as an evil portent, and refused to advance any farther. Attalus, though he now no longer wanted the assistance of these troops, and had experienced likewise, that in all their marches they were still separated from the other forces, that they also encamped apart, and were at all times haughty and untractable, was thrown, however, by this accident into great perplexity. For as he dreaded, on the one hand, that they would now join Achæus, and fall, together with that prince, upon some part of his dominions, so, on the other hand, he was no less apprehensive that he should draw upon himself the censure of mankind, in case that he should surround them with the rest of his army, and thus destroy a body of men who had trusted themselves to his protection, and under that security had followed him into Asia. At last, therefore, he resolved to seize the occasion of their present discontent, and promised that he would lead them to a place from

whence they might again pass into Europe; that he would allot a country also to them, sufficient for their settlement; and, for the time to come, be always ready to advance their interests, and comply with every just demand. He conducted them accordingly to the Hellespont; and having shown great marks of favour to the inhabitants of Ilium, Lampsacus, and Alexandria, who had all remained firm in their attachment to him, he then returned to Pergamus with his army.

CHAP. VIII.

WHEN the spring approached Antiochus and Ptolemy, having completed all their preparations, were now ready by a battle to decide the war. Ptolemy, therefore, began his march from Alexandria with seventy thousand foot, five thousand horse, and seventy-three elephants. Antiochus, being informed of his approach, drew together also all his forces. His army was composed of five thousand light-armed troops, Daians, Carmanians, and Cilicians, under the command of Byttacus, a Macedonian; and twenty thousand men, selected from all parts of the kingdom, armed after the Macedonian manner, and led by Theodotus the Ætolian, who had

deserted from the service of king Ptolemy. The greater part of these wore silver bucklers. There was a phalanx also of twenty thousand men, commanded by Nicarchus and Theodotus the Hermionian: two thousand Agrianians and Persians, armed with bows and slings, and with them a thousand Thracians, under the care of Menedemus, a citizen of Alabanda; five thousand Medes, Cissians, Caddusians, and Carmanians, who received their orders from Aspasianes, a Mede; ten thousand men from Arabia, and the neighbouring countries, conducted by Zabdiphilus; five thousand Grecian mercenaries, commanded by Hippolochus of Thessaly; fifteen hundred Cretans, by Eurylochus; and a thousand Neocretans, by Zeles of Gortyna; a thousand Cardacians, and five hundred Lydian archers, under the conduct of Lysimachus, a Gaul. The number of the cavalry was about six thousand. Four thousand of them were commanded by Antipater, the brother of the king; and the rest by Themison. Thus the whole army of Antiochus consisted of seventy-two thousand foot, and six thousand horse; with a hundred and two elephants.

Ptolemy, advancing to Pelusium, and having waited there to receive the troops that were not yet come up, and to distribute provisions among his army, again decamped, and passing through a dry and desert country, along mount Casius, and the place that was called the Pits, arrived at

Gaza. And having allowed some time for the refreshment of his army, he continued his route forwards by slow and gentle marches, and on the fifth day fixed his camp at the distance of fifty stadia from the city of Raphia; which is situated beyond Rhinocorura, and stands the nearest towards Ægypt, of all the cities of Cœle-syria.

At the same time Antiochus also began his march, and passing beyond Raphia, came and encamped, in the night, at the distance of ten stadia from the enemy. But within some days afterwards, being desirous to possess himself of some more advantageous posts, and at the same time to inspire his troops with confidence, he advanced so near to Ptolemy, that the armies were now separated from each other by the distance only of five stadia. Frequent engagements, therefore, happened every day between the troops that went abroad to get water or provisions; and many skirmishes, both of the infantry and cavalry, in the space that was between the camps.

During this time Theodotus formed an attempt that was worthy indeed of an Ætolian, but which showed no small degree of courage and enterprising boldness. From his long acquaintance with the court of Ptolemy he knew all the customs of the king, and the manner in which he lived. Attended, therefore, by no more than two companions, he went over to the camp of the enemy, a little before break of day. As the dark-

ness screened his face from all discovery, so his habit likewise passed unobserved, because there were various kinds of dresses in the camp. He advanced boldly, therefore, to the royal tent, which in the late skirmishes, he had easily remarked, and entered it unnoticed by the guards. But he found not the person whom he sought. For this, indeed, was the tent of state, in which the king usually supped, and admitted his friends to audience; but he slept in a different tent. Theodotus, therefore, when he had searched in vain in every corner, wounded two officers that were sleeping there, and killed Andreas, the physician of the king, and then returned again with safety; having received some slight disturbance only as he left the camp. And thus, as far as courage only was required, he fully accomplished his design. But he failed through want of prudence, in not having examined with the necessary care, in what part of the camp the king was used to sleep.

The two kings, when they had thus for five days remained in sight, resolved at last to engage in a decisive action. As soon, therefore, as Ptolemy began first to put his troops in motion, Antiochus also drew out all his forces, and ranged them in order of battle. The phalanxes on either side, with the rest of the troops likewise that were armed after the Macedonian manner, stood opposite to each other in the centre. The wings, on the part of Ptolemy, were thus dis-

posed. Upon the left stood Polycretes with the cavalry that was under his command. Between him and the phalanx were first the Cretan forces; after these the royal guards; then the peltastæ, led by Socrates; and in the last place, close joining to the phalanx, the Africans, armed after the manner of the Macedonians. Upon the right wing stood Echecrates with his cavalry. Close to him upon his left, were placed first the Gauls and Thracians; next to these the Grecian mercenaries, under the command of Phoxidas; and after them, the phalanx of Ægyptians. Forty of the elephants were posted on the left wing, in which Ptolemy himself designed to engage; and thirty-three upon the right, at some distance before the mercenary cavalry.

Antiochus placed sixty of his elephants, under the command of Philip, who was his foster-brother, before the right wing, which he designed to lead himself to the charge against Ptolemy. Behind the elephants were two thousand horse, commanded by Antipater, and close to these two thousand more, which were ranged in the figure called the forceps. Joining to the cavalry in front stood first the Cretans, then the Grecian mercenaries, and between these and the troops that were armed after the Macedonian manner, the five thousand men that were under the command of Byttacus, a Macedonian. On the left wing stood Themison, with two thousand cavalry. Next to these were the Lydian and Car-

dacian archers; then the light-armed troops of Menedemus, which amounted to about three thousand; afterwards the Cissians, Medes, and Carmanians; and lastly, joining to the phalanx, the forces of Arabia, and the neighbouring countries. The remaining part of the elephants were posted also before this wing, under the command of Myiscus, one of the young men that had been educated with the king.

When the armies were thus ranged in order, and ready to engage, the two kings, attended by their officers and friends, advanced along the front of all the line, and endeavoured to inspire their troops with courage; especially the phalanxes, in which they had placed their greatest hopes. Upon this occasion Ptolemy was accompanied by his sister Arsinoë, and by Sosibius also and Andromachus; Antiochus, by Theodotus and Nicarchus; for these, on both sides, were the generals by whom the phalanxes were commanded. The motives that were urged to animate the troops were on either side the same. For as these princes had both been seated so lately upon the throne, and had themselves performed no actions that were worthy to be mentioned, they were forced to have recourse alike to the fame and great exploits of their respective ancestors. But above all the rest, they promised also, on their own part, great rewards, as well to every officer apart, as in general to all the army; and, in a word, employed not exhortations only, but

prayers also, and entreaties, to engage them to perform their duty with alacrity and vigour.

In this manner, riding along from rank to rank they addressed all the troops in turn, sometimes by themselves, and sometimes by interpreters. But when Ptolemy with his sister, came to the left wing of his army, and Antiochus, attended by his guards, had taken his station also upon his right, the signal was sounded to engage, and the elephants approaching first, began the combat. Among those that belonged to Ptolemy, there were some that advanced boldly against their adversaries. It was then pleasing to behold the soldiers engaged in close combat from the towers, and pushing against each other with their spears. But the beasts themselves afforded a far nobler spectacle as they rushed together, front to front, with the greatest force and fury. For this is the manner in which they fight. Twisting their trunks together, they strive each of them, with his utmost force, to maintain their own ground, and to move their adversary from his place. And when the strongest of them has at last pushed aside the trunk of the other, and forced him to turn his flank, he then pierces him with his tusks, in the same manner as bulls in fighting wound each other with their horns. But the greater part of the beasts that belonged to Ptolemy declined the combat. For this usually happens to the elephants of Afric; which are not able to support either the smell or cry of the Indian ele-

phants. Or rather, perhaps, they are struck with terror at the view of their enormous size and strength; since even before they approach near together they frequently turn their backs and fly. And this it was which at this time happened. As soon, therefore, as these animals, being thus disordered by their fears, had fallen against the ranks of their own army, and forced the royal guards to break the line, Antiochus, seizing the occasion, and advancing round on the outside of the elephants, charged the cavalry which was commanded by Polycrates, in the extremity of the left wing of Ptolemy. At the same time also the Grecian mercenaries, who stood within the elephants, near the phalanx, advanced with fury against the peltastæ, and routed them with little difficulty, because their ranks likewise were already broken by the elephants. Thus the whole left wing of the army of Ptolemy was defeated, and forced to fly.

Echecrates, who commanded in the right, for some time waited to observe what would be the event of the engagement upon the left. But when he saw that the dust was driven fast towards them, and that their elephants fled wholly from the combat, he ordered Phoxidas, who commanded the mercenaries of Greece, to advance against the troops that stood opposite to him in front; while himself, having directed his own cavalry, together with those that were drawn up behind the elephants, to defile along the wing, till

they had stretched beyond the elephants of the left wing of Antiochus, charged the cavalry of that wing both in flank and rear, and soon caused a general rout. Phoxidas also, with the troops that were under his command, at the same time forced the Arabians and the Medes to fly in great disorder. Thus Antiochus, who had gained the victory upon his right, was completely vanquished on his left. The phalanxes alone, being thus stripped of both their wings, remained entire in the middle of the plain, and knew not what they should expect or fear.

While Antiochus was pursuing his victory upon the right, Ptolemy, who had retreated behind his phalanx, advanced now into the centre, and showing himself to both armies, struck the enemy with terror, and inspired his own forces with alacrity and confidence. Andromachus therefore, and Sosibius, levelling their spears, advanced without delay against the enemy. The troops of Syria, who were all select men, for some time sustained the charge. But those that were commanded by Nicarchus immediately turned their backs and fled. During this time Antiochus, young and unskilled in war, and judging, from the victory which himself had gained, that the same good fortune had attended also in every other part of the action, still pursued with eagerness the troops that had fled before him. But after some time, when one of the older generals had desired him to remark the dust that was dri-

ven towards his camp by the phalanx of the enemy, he then saw what had happened, and ran back in haste, attended by his guards, towards the place of battle. But as the troops were now completely routed, he was forced to retreat to Raphia; being persuaded that, as far as the success had depended on himself, he had gained a perfect victory; and that the battle had been only lost through the want of spirit and base cowardice of his troops. Ptolemy, having thus obtained by his phalanx a complete and decisive victory, and killed also, by his cavalry and mercenaries of the right wing, great numbers in the pursuit, returned back again to his camp; and on the following day, when he had first interred his soldiers that were slain, and spoiled the bodies of the enemy, he directed his march towards Raphia. Antiochus had at first designed to draw together all his troops, and to encamp without the walls of Raphia; but as the greater part had fled for safety into the city, he was forced also himself to enter it. But early on the following day he directed his route towards Gaza with the remains of his army, and there encamped; and from thence sent to obtain permission of Ptolemy to bury his men also that were slain. He had lost in the action scarcely fewer than ten thousand of his infantry, with more than three hundred horse. Above four thousand also were taken prisoners. Three of his elephants were killed in the engagement, and two died afterwards of their wounds.

On the part of Ptolemy were slain fifteen hundred foot, and seven hundred horse. But seventeen of the elephants were killed, and a greater number taken. Such was the end of the battle of Raphia between these two princes for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria.

When Antiochus had discharged the last duties to his soldiers who had fallen in the action, he directed his route back again towards his own kingdom. At the same time Ptolemy took possession of Raphia without resistance, with the rest also of the neighbouring cities; which all seemed to strive together which should be the first to return again to his dominion, and receive him as their master. For in such conjunctures all men indeed are ready to accommodate their resolutions to the present times. But the people especially of Cœle-syria are more strongly led by nature to this compliance, than those of any other country. At this time, however, their conduct must in part be ascribed to that affection by which they were before inclined towards the kings of Ægypt. For the multitude, through all the province, had always been accustomed to regard the princes of this family with sentiments of high respect and veneration. Ptolemy, therefore, was received among them with crowns, sacrifices, altars, and every other honour which flattery was able to invent.

As soon as Antiochus arrived in safety at the city which was called by his own name, he sent

Antipater his nephew, and Theodotus, ambassadors to Ptolemy to treat of peace. For he feared that if the enemy should now pursue their victory, his own subjects, disheartened by the late defeat, might perhaps revolt; and that Achæus would be ready also to take advantage of the occasion which was so favourable for his design against him. Ptolemy never once reflected upon any of these circumstances; but, satisfied with having thus gained a victory, which he scarcely had the courage to expect, and finding himself again possessed of Cœle-syria, was so far from being averse to peace, that, on the contrary, he embraced it with immoderate haste; and fled again to that repose to which his indolence and habitual vices forcibly inclined him. As soon therefore as the ambassadors arrived, having first given vent to some slight expostulations and complaints, with respect to the attempt that had been formed against him by Antiochus, he immediately consented to a truce for a year, and sent away Sosibius to ratify the treaty. And when he had passed three months in Syria and Phœnice, and restored peace and order among all the cities, he left the government of the country to Andromachus of Aspendus, and returned back again with his sister, and his favourites, to Alexandria; having finished the war in a manner which occasioned no small surprise among the people of his kingdom, who were acquainted with his former course of life. Antiochus, as soon

as the treaty was concluded by Sosibius, resumed his first design, and began to make the necessary preparations for his war against Achæus. Such was the state of affairs in Asia.

CHAP. IX.

ABOUT this time an earthquake happened at Rhodes, which threw down their vast colossus, together with a great part of the walls and naval arsenals. But the Rhodians, by their wise and dexterous management so well improved the accident, that instead of being destructive to them, it brought many great advantages to their city. So different are the effects of prudence and activity from those of negligence and folly, as well in public affairs as in the business also of private life. For through the latter of these qualities even happy events become pernicious; while the former, on the contrary, convert calamities into benefits. Thus the Rhodians, exaggerating all the horrors of the accident that had befallen them, and preserving still a grave and solemn dignity, both in the addresses that were made in public by their ambassadors, and in their own particular deportment, induced the cities, and especially the kings, not only to

send gifts of very great value, but even to esteem it a favour that their presents were accepted by them. From Hiero and Gelo they received seventy-five talents of silver, one part of which was paid immediately, and the rest in a short time afterwards, to furnish oil for the games of the Gymnasium; some silver caldrons with their bases; some cisterns for holding water, ten talents to defray the expense of sacrifices; and ten more to increase the number of the citizens: so that the whole amounted to near a hundred talents. The same princes exempted also from all imposts the vessels that sailed from Rhodes; and gave to them likewise fifty catapults, of the length of three cubits. And yet after all this bounty, as if they had themselves received some favours from the Rhodians they erected in the public place of their city a statue of the people of Rhodes in the act of receiving a crown from another statue, which represented the people of Syracuse. Ptolemy also engaged to furnish them with three hundred talents of silver; a million measures of corn; with timber to build ten quinqueremes and ten triremes; some square pieces also of fir, the measure of which together was forty thousand cubits; a thousand talents of brass coin; three thousand weight of hemp; three thousand pieces of cloth for sails; three thousand talents for replacing their colossus: a hundred architects, and three hundred and fifty labourers; with fourteen talents by the

year for their subsistence; twelve thousand measures of corn for their games and sacrifices; and twenty thousand for the subsistence of the ten triremes. The chief part of these presents was immediately sent to Rhodes; together with a third part also of all the money. In the same manner likewise, Antigonus supplied them with ten thousand pieces of timber, that was proper to be cut into solid blocks, from eight to sixteen cubits; five thousand planks, of seven cubits; three thousand weight of iron; a thousand also of pitch with a thousand measures of tar; and promised to add besides a hundred talents. His wife Chryseis sent, on her part, a hundred thousand measures of corn, and three thousand weight of lead. Seleucus also, the father of Antiochus, not content with having discharged from imposts the Rhodian vessels that sailed to any part of his dominions, gave them also ten quinqueremes completely equipped; two hundred thousand measures of corn; ten thousand cubits of timber, and a thousand weight of hair and resin. The same generosity was also shown towards them by Prusias, Mithridates, and all the other princes who then reigned in Asia: Lysanas, Olympicus, and Limnæus. And with regard to the cities, which assisted them as far as their abilities would reach, they are scarcely to be numbered. If we look back therefore only to the time in which the Rhodians were first established in their city, we may think it per-

haps a matter of surprise, that, in the course of so short a period they should have gained so considerable an increase, with respect both to the private riches of the citizens, and the public wealth also of the state. But on the other hand, if we reflect upon the great advantages which they derive from the happy situation of their city, together with those plentiful supplies that have flowed into it from abroad, we shall then find no cause of wonder; but rather be persuaded that the condition of this people might have been even still more full and flourishing.

In recounting thus minutely all the circumstances that attended this event, my design was first to show the uncommon zeal and earnestness with which the Rhodians struggled to restore their country to its former state; a zeal, which indeed is highly worthy both of praise and imitation; and in the next place, that it might from hence be seen how sparingly the princes of the present age dispense their bounty, and of how little value are the gifts which the states and cities now receive. For from these examples those princes may be taught not to boast of their munificence, when they have bestowed perhaps a present of four or five talents only; nor expect that the Greeks should offer to them in return the same acknowledgements and honours as were decreed to the kings of former times. The cities also, on the other hand, when they have seen the immense value

of the gifts that were once bestowed upon them may become more reserved and prudent, and not prostitute their best and noblest honours in return for benefits of little worth, but endeavour rather to make so just a distribution of their favours as may preserve their own dignity undiminished, and convince mankind that the Greeks are still superior to all other people. We now return again to the place in which we broke off our relation of the Social war.

When the summer now was come, in which Agetas was the prætor of the Ætolians, and Aratus of the Achæans, Lycurgus, king of Sparta, was recalled again by the ephori, who had discovered, that the suspicions through which he had been forced to fly, were false. He returned, therefore, to the city from Ætolia, and immediately concerted measures with Pyrrhias an Ætolian, who was then the general of the Elean forces, for making an incursion into the Messenian territory. Aratus, at his first entrance upon his office, had found that all the mercenary troops of the republic were broken and dispersed; and that the cities no longer paid their contributions to the war; for such were the effects, as we have before observed, of the unactive and unskilful conduct of Eperatus, the former prætor. Having called together therefore the Achæan states, and obtained, by his persuasions, such a decree as the circum-

stances of affairs required, he applied himself with vigour to remedy the past disorders, and complete all the necessary preparations for the war. By this decree it was resolved, that the Achæans should receive into their pay a body of new mercenaries, consisting of eight thousand foot and five hundred horse; that they should raise also in Achaia three thousand foot, and three hundred horse; that among these, there should be five hundred foot of Megalopolis, armed with brazen bucklers, and fifty horse; with an equal number of Argians; and, that three vessels also should sail towards Acte and the gulf of Argos, and three be sent over to cover Patræ, and Dyme, with the rest of the places that stood along that coast.

While Aratus was thus employed, Pyrrhias and Lycurgus, having agreed together, that they should both, at the same time, begin their march, advanced towards the borders of Messenia. Aratus, being informed of their design, took with him the mercenaries, and a part also of the Achæan forces, and came to Megalopolis, to succour the Messenians. Lycurgus, having gained by some secret practices, a fortress of the Messenians called Thalamæ, continued his route from thence with the greatest haste, in order to join the Eleans. But Pyrrhias, on the other hand, who had begun his march from Elis with a very small body of troops, was opposed upon the borders of Messenia by the Cyparis-

sians, and forced to return. Lycurgus, therefore, being thus prevented from joining the Eleans, as he had at first designed, and not able, with his own forces, to attempt any action of importance, made some slight incursions only upon the neighbouring country, for the sake of gaining the supplies that were necessary for his troops, and then led his army back again to Sparta. When the enemy had thus failed in their design, Aratus, in order to defeat all such attempts for the time to come, prevailed on Taurion, and the people of Messenia, to draw together severally, five hundred foot and fifty horse, for the defence of the Messenians, Megalopolitans, Argians, and Tegeans, whose lands, lying close upon the borders of Laconia, were chiefly exposed to insult; while himself, with the Achæans and the mercenaries, engaged to cover those parts of Achaia that were situated on the side of Ætolia and Elea. He afterwards employed all his pains, to calm the contests of the Megalopolitans, and to restore peace among them, as the Achæans had directed in their late decree. For this people, whose state and city not long before had been subverted by Cleomenes, were wholly destitute of many things, and scantily supplied with all. They retained, indeed, the same high spirit as before; but were utterly unable to discharge or satisfy, either their own particular wants, or the public necessities of the state. Hence arose contention, jealousy,

and hot debates: for such are the effects which naturally spring, as well in public states as among private men, whenever they are pressed by penury, and deprived of the resources that are necessary for carrying into execution their designs. Their first dispute related to the manner in which the city should be built. For some maintained, that it was necessary to contract the former circuit of the walls, that thus they might be able to finish what they should begin, and to defend the city also against an enemy. For it was judged to have been the only cause of their late misfortune, that their city was of very great extent, and the inhabitants in proportion few. They contended likewise, that those who were rich among the citizens, should give up a third part of their lands, in order to obtain some new inhabitants. Others, on the contrary, refused with equal warmth, either to relinquish their possessions, or consent that the circuit of the city should be lessened. But the chief and most important subject of their contests was a new body of laws, framed for their use by Prytanis, a peripatetic of distinguished eminence, who was sent to them for that purpose by Antigonus. Aratus employed all the methods that seemed likely to be most effectual for calming these disorders, and at last accomplished his design. Their dissensions were all composed: and the conditions of the agreement engraved upon a column, which was erected

near the altar of Vesta at Omarium. He then went from Megalopolis, to be present in the council of the Achæan states: having left the mercenaries to the care of Lycus, a citizen of Pharæ; who, on account of the contributions which his city had advanced for the uses of the war, stood the next in authority and command, after the Achæan prætor.

The Eleans, dissatisfied with Pyrrhias, invited Euripidas, who was also an Ætolian, to be their general. Euripidas, having waited till the Achæans were assembled together to hold their general council, began his march at the head of two thousand foot and sixty horse, and passing through the Pharæan district wasted all the country as far as to the borders of the Ægian territory; and when he had gained an immense booty, he retired towards Leontium. But Lycus, being informed of what had happened, marched away with diligence; and falling suddenly upon the enemy in their retreat, he killed four hundred of them, and took two hundred prisoners; among whom were some officers of eminence, Physsias, Antanor, Clearchus, Androlochus, Evanoridas, Aristogiton, Nicasippus, Aspasius. He became master also of their arms, and all their baggage. About the same time the commander of the Achæan fleet steered his course to Molycria, and returned again with near a hundred slaves. From thence, sailing towards Chalcia, and being there attacked by some vessels of the

enemy, he took two long barks with all their men. He took also a small frigate, completely equipped, near Rhium, in Ætolia. This success, which happened at the same time upon land and sea, spread so great a plenty, both of money and provisions, through the Achæan army, that the troops were now fully assured that their stipends would be regularly paid, and the cities also began to hope, that they no longer should be loaded with contributions for the war.

About the time of these transactions, Scerdilaidas, being incensed against king Philip, because some part of the sum, which this prince had engaged to pay to him, remained undischarged, sent away a fleet of fifteen ships, designing to recover, by surprise and fraud, the money that was due. These vessels first steered their course to Leucas; and being received into the port as friends in consequence of the late alliance, they committed indeed, through want and opportunity, no other hostilities in the place; but when Agathynus and Cassander, citizens of Corinth, came and cast anchor, as friends also, in the harbour, with four ships which belonged to Taurion, they immediately attacked them in direct breach of the alliance, and having taken both the captains and their vessels, sent them away to Scerdilaidas. After this exploit, they directed their course to Malea, pillaged many vessels in their way, and carried the merchants into slavery.

As the season of the harvest now approached, and Taurion had neglected to secure by a sufficient force, the frontiers of those cities, which have before been mentioned, Aratus drew together a select body of troops, to cover and support the Argians, who were employed in gathering in their corn. About the same time also, Euripidas began his march at the head of the Eleans, with design to ravage the lands of the Tritæans. But when Lycus and Demodocus, who commanded the Achæan cavalry, were informed that these troops had quitted their own province, they assembled all the forces of the Patræans, Dymæans, and Pharæans, together with the mercenaries, and resolved to make incursions into the Elean territory. Advancing, therefore, as far as to the town called Phyxium, they sent away the cavalry and light-armed forces to waste the country, having, at the same time, concealed their heavy-armed troops in ambuscade, in the neighbourhood of the town. The Eleans, ran together from every part to attack the pillagers; and, as these retired before them, they began also to pursue with eagerness. But Lycus, with the troops that were placed in ambuscade, suddenly arose and charged the foremost of them. The Eleans, upon the first appearance of these heavy-armed forces, immediately turned their backs and fled. About two hundred of them were killed in the place, and eighty taken pri-

soners; while the Achæans retreated with their booty, without any loss. About this time, the commander also of the Achæan fleet made frequent descents upon Ætolia, in the neighbourhood of Calydon and Naupactus; plundered all the coast, and twice defeated the troops that were sent against him. He took prisoner also Cleonicus, a citizen of Naupactus. But, because he had formerly been connected with the Achæans by the ties of hospitality, instead of being sold, together with the rest, he was dismissed, within a short time afterwards, without any ransom. About the same time also, Agetas the Ætolian prætor, having assembled all the forces of the country, ravaged the whole provinces of Acarnania and Epirus; and when he had accomplished all that he had designed, he returned back again, and dismissed the Ætolians to their several cities. The Acarnanians, on the other hand, made an incursion into the neighbourhood of Stratus. But, because their troops were on a sudden seized with a panic terror, they were forced to return back again with some disgrace, though not with any loss. For the inhabitants of Stratus, being apprehensive that their intention was to draw them into an ambuscade, feared to follow them in their retreat.

About this time, a piece of feigned treachery was practised in Phanoteus, in the following manner: Alexander, who was intrusted by king

Philip with the government of Phocis, formed the design of surprising the Ætolians, and employed for that purpose Jason, who commanded under him in Phanoteus. This officer, having sent some messengers to Agetas the Ætolian prætor, engaged to surrender to him the citadel of the city. The agreement soon was settled, and confirmed also by the accustomed oaths. On the appointed day, Agetas advanced with his army in the night into the neighbourhood of Phanoteus: and having selected a hundred of the bravest of his troops, he sent them away to take possession of the citadel, and concealed the rest at some distance without the walls. In the mean while, Alexander, with a sufficient body of troops, stood in readiness within the city; and as soon as Jason, agreeably to his oath, had introduced the hundred Ætolians into the citadel, he showed himself and fell upon them, so that they were forced immediately to surrender. Agetas, as soon as the day appeared, perceived what had happened, and retreated back again with his forces; having been taken in a snare, not unlike to those which himself had often practised against others.

About the same time also, Philip reduced Bylazora, the largest city of all Pæonia, and which commanded likewise those defiles, that led from Dardania into Macedon. By this conquest therefore he was freed from all farther apprehensions, with regard to the people of that

province. For as long as he should remain master of this city, it would be scarcely possible that they should make incursions into his kingdom. When he had secured the place by a sufficient garrison, he sent away Chrysogonus, to draw together, with all diligence, the forces of the upper Macedon: and himself, taking with him the troops that were at Bottia and Amphaxis, began his march and came to Edesa. And being in this place joined by Chrysogonus, he advanced with all his army; and having, on the sixth day, passed beyond Larissa, and continued his march all night with the greatest haste, he arrived near Melitæa about break of day, and began immediately to scale the city. The inhabitants, who were wholly unprepared against this accident, were so struck with consternation, that they might soon have been reduced with little difficulty. But, because the ladders were too short, the king failed in the attempt.

Among all the faults into which the leaders of an army are at any time betrayed, there are none that more justly deserve our censure than that which was now committed. For how can those generals be excused, who, without having taken any due precaution, without measuring the walls and other places by which they design to approach a city, rush blindly on to the attack? Or can those on the other hand be thought less worthy of reproach and blame,

who, when they have informed themselves of the height and dimensions of those objects, leave to any persons, whom chance shall offer, the care of preparing the ladders, with all the other necessary instruments: those instruments which, though they may indeed be framed by a moderate degree of skill, are yet of the utmost importance in their use? For in things of this kind nothing that is necessary can be omitted without some loss. The neglect indeed, how small soever, will immediately be followed by its punishment. For either in the very time of the attack the bravest of the troops are lost: or when they are forced to desist from their design, and to retire before an exulting enemy, who despises their ineffectual efforts, they are then exposed to a still greater danger than before. The truth of this remark might be shown from numberless examples. For among all that have failed in such attempts, the greater part have either perished in the place, or been involved in the utmost hazard and distress, while few, on the other hand, have been able to escape with safety. It must also be acknowledged that such attempts, especially when frustrated, draw after them distrust and hatred; and afford a standing and a public admonition, not to those only that are present, but to all who hear of the event, to secure themselves effectually against such enemies. Those, therefore, who are intrusted with the conduct of affairs, ought never

to engage in such designs, unless the means that are required for carrying them into execution have all first been regulated with the nicest care. With regard to the measure and construction of ladders and other instruments, there is a method for it which is both easy and infallible. But we must now proceed in our narration: and shall take perhaps, at some future time, occasion to resume this subject; and explain the manner in which such enterprises may be conducted with the best assurance of success.

The king, when he thus had failed in his design, went and encamped near the river Enipeus, and drew together, from Larissa and the other cities, all the stores which he had collected during the preceding winter, in order to form the siege of Thebes in Phthiotis: for the chief design and purpose of his present expedition was to render himself master of this place. The city of Thebes is situated near the sea, at the distance of three hundred stadia from Larissa, and commands both Thessaly and Magnesia; those parts especially of the latter province which lie contiguous to Demetrias; and in the former the districts of Pharsalus and Pheræ. With this advantage the Ætolians, who were at this time in possession of the city, fell frequently with great success upon the neighbouring country, and occasioned no small loss to the people of Demetrias and Pharsalus, and

even those of Larissa likewise: for they often extended their incursions as far as to the plain Amyricum. Philip, therefore, having resolved to employ his utmost efforts to become master of the place, brought together a hundred and fifty catapults, with twenty-five machines for throwing stones, and having divided his army into three separate bodies, lodged himself in the nearest posts. The first division encamped near Scopium; the second in the neighbourhood of Heliotropium; and the last was seated upon a hill which overlooked the city. He fortified the space also that was between the camps with an intrenchment and a double palisade; and with towers of wood, placed at a distance of a hundred paces from each other, and secured by a sufficient guard. And when he had collected together all the stores, and completed the preparations that were necessary, he ordered the machines to approach, and began his attack against the citadel. During the first three days the besieged resisted all his efforts with so great bravery and firmness that the works were not much advanced. But when the continual skirmishes and the darts that were discharged without any intermission had destroyed or wounded great numbers of the inhabitants, they then slackened in their ardour, and afforded leisure to the Macedonian miners to begin their work. But such was the difficulty of the ground that after nine days' continued labour they were scarcely able to

approach near the walls. As they persisted, however, in the task by turns, without any respite either by day or night, in the course of three days more they had undermined the wall to the length of two hundred paces, and placed props of timber under it. But these in a short time sunk beneath the weight; so that the wall fell down, even before the Macedonians had set fire to the wood. They then cleared away, with the greatest diligence, the ruins of the breach, and were just ready to advance to the assault when the besieged were struck with terror and surrendered. By this conquest the king not only secured both Thessaly and Magnesia against the incursions of the Ætolians, and deprived that people of their accustomed booty, but at the same time also convinced the troops that if they had failed in the siege of Palæa, the treachery of Leontius had been alone the cause of their miscarriage, and that he had justly punished him with death. Being thus become master of the place, he ordered the inhabitants to be sold for slaves; and having filled the city likewise with a colony from Macedon, he changed the name of it from Thebes to Philippi.

About this time some ambassadors arrived again from Rhodes, Chios, Byzantium, and from Ptolemy, to mediate a peace. Philip, having repeated to them the answer which he had made before, that he was heartily disposed to embrace a peace, ordered them to

go and inform themselves whether the sentiments of the Ætolians were the same. But in reality he was not in the least solicitous with respect to peace; but rather was inclined to pursue the course that was before him. Having received notice, therefore, that Scerdilaidas infested the seas round Malea, and pillaged all the merchants; and that some even of his own vessels had been attacked in the port of Leucas in contempt of treaties, he immediately equipped twelve decked ships, eight open barks, and thirty biremes, and steered his course through the Euripus. His intention was to surprise the Illyrians, and to give an early and effectual check to the insolence of those pirates, that he might then be able to resume with vigour the war against the Ætolians, which was still the object of his chief attention, because he was at this time ignorant of all that had passed in Italy. For while he was employed in the siege of Thebes, the Romans were defeated in Tyrrhenia by Annibal. But the news of that battle had not yet arrived in Greece.

The Illyrian barks had retired, however, from those seas before the king was able to arrive. Having cast anchor, therefore, in the port of Cenchreæ, and ordered that the decked ships should sail round Malea to Ægium and Patræ, he drew the rest of his vessels over the isthmus, and commanded them to take their station in the harbour of Lechæum; while himself went

from thence to Argos, together with his friends, to be present at the Nemean games.

As he was sitting there, to behold the combats, a courier arrived from Macedon with the news that the Romans had been defeated in a great battle, and that Annibal was now master of all the open country. Philip immediately showed his letters to Demetrius of Pharos, but to none besides; and cautioned him to be silent. Demetrius seized the occasion, and pressed the king to put an end at once to his war against the Ætolians; that he might be able to employ all his forces to reduce Illyria, and from thence to pass afterwards into Italy. He represented to him, "that the states of Greece, as they were now well pleased to comply with all that was imposed, would be ready likewise in all future times to receive his laws, and pay an entire submission to his will: that the Achæans were by inclination strongly fixed in all his interests; and that the Ætolians, deterred by the misfortunes that had happened to them in the present war, would fear to engage in any new designs against him: that his passing into Italy would in effect be the most important step towards the conquest of the world: that such an enterprise belonged to none more properly than to himself: and that the time also for it was now most seasonable, in which the Romans had been defeated with so great a loss." This discourse did not fail to make a very quick and deep im-

pression upon the king: young as he then was, and fortunate in all his projects; bold and enterprising in his nature; and descended also from a house whose princes always had conceived the hope of being able to acquire the sovereignty of the world.

In a short time, therefore, though he had shown, as we have said, his letters only to Demetrius, he assembled together all his friends in council, and demanded their opinions with respect to a peace with the Ætolians. Aratus was by no means averse to peace; for he thought that all things might be now accommodated with some advantage to themselves, because they were superior in the war. The king, therefore, not expecting the return of those ambassadors who had been employed to mediate a peace, deputed to the Ætolians Cleonicus of Naupactus, who, from the time in which he first was taken, had still remained near the king, waiting for the assembly of the Achæan states. He then left Corinth, and advanced with his fleet and army towards Ægium. And when he arrived at Lasion, that he might not show too great an eagerness to put an end to the war, he attacked and stormed a fortress that was built upon the ruins of that city; and threatened also to make an incursion into the Elean territory. But afterwards when Cleonicus had returned twice or thrice, and the Ætolians were earnest to obtain a personal conference, he resolved to comply

with their request; and having put a stop to all hostilities, sent couriers to the cities of the allies, desiring them to depute some persons to deliberate with him concerning the conditions of the peace. He then went and encamped with his army near Panormus, a port of Peloponnesus, which lies opposite to Naupactus, and there waited the arrival of the deputies. But before they were assembled he passed over to Zacynthus, and having regulated certain matters in that island which required his presence, he returned back again to Panormus.

When the deputies arrived, the king sent away Taurion and Aratus, with some others that were present; who, when they had joined the Ætolians at Naupactus, and had seen, in one short interview that they were earnestly inclined to peace, returned again without delay, and brought also with them some ambassadors from the Ætolians, who pressed the king to pass over to them with his army, that the conferences might be held face to face, and all disputes more easily be accommodated. Philip yielded to their solicitations, and having embarked his troops, sailed over to Ætolia, and encamped at the distance of about twenty stadia from Naupactus. And having thrown up an intrenchment round his camp and vessels, he waited there till the conferences should begin. The Ætolians all met together, without their arms, at the distance of two stadia only from the camp, and from

thence sent their deputies to the conference. The king proposed to them, by the ambassadors of the allies, as the first condition of the peace, that they should keep on all sides what they then possessed. To this the Ætolians readily consented. With regard to other points, there were afterwards frequent deputations and debates; the greater part of which were of such small importance, that they need not be particularly mentioned. But the discourse which was made by Agelaus of Naupactus, in presence of the king and of the ambassadors of the allies, at the time of the first interview, was such as well deserves to be related.

He said then, "that it seemed to be a point of the greatest moment, that the States of Greece should now at last all resolve to lay aside their mutual wars and contests, and esteem it as the greatest happiness which the gods could give, if they once could be induced to unite together in heart and sentiments, and taking each other by the hand, like men that are obliged to ford a dangerous stream, join all their strength to stand against the attacks of foreign enemies, and secure their cities and themselves from falling a prey to any barbarous people. That though such a union might perhaps, in all its parts, and for any long continuance, be found impracticable, it was, however, highly necessary, that at least in this conjuncture, they should all stand firm in one agreement, and join in com-

mon measures for the common safety. That in order to be well assured of this necessity, they might only turn their eyes upon the greatness of those armaments that were at this time in the field, and the importance of the war in which the powers abroad were now engaged. That all who were possessed of even a moderate portion of discernment in the affairs of policy, must be able clearly to perceive, that the conquerors in this war, whether the Carthaginians or the Romans, would never rest contented with the sovereignty of Sicily and Italy, but go on to spread wide their victories, and extend their acquisitions beyond all just and reasonable bounds. He conjured them therefore with the greatest earnestness, and Philip above all the rest, to secure themselves in time against the impending danger. That with regard to Philip, this security might most effectually be obtained, if instead of weakening, as he had hitherto done, the strength and forces of the Greeks, he rather would regard them all as the members of his own body, and attend to the safety of their provinces with no less vigilance and care, than if they were in truth the natural and proper parts of his own dominions. That by such a conduct the Greeks would all be fixed unalterably in his interests, and ready to assist him in his projects: and that by this attachment to him, not less weighty than sincere, all strangers would effectually be deterred from forming any

designs against his kingdom. That if this prince however was eager to be employed in action, let him turn his eyes towards the west, and observe what passed in Italy. That by a wise and diligent attention to all that now should happen in that country, he might find at last perhaps some fair occasion for opening to himself the way to universal empire. That the condition of the present times seemed greatly to encourage such a hope. He pressed him therefore to lay aside all farther thoughts of contest or dissension among the Greeks; and above all things, to be careful not to lose the power of making war upon them, or of concluding peace, whenever himself should choose. For if," continued he, " this cloud, which is now seen hovering in the west, should at last settle and discharge itself upon the provinces of Greece, how greatly do I fear, that an end will be put at once both to our wars and treaties, and to all those childish contests in which we are now so wantonly engaged: and that all of us must then be forced to implore it as a blessing from the gods, that we may be permitted to enjoy the power of taking arms against each other, and of laying them down again, as we shall judge it to be most expedient; or in a word, of settling any of our differences by our own decision."

This discourse filled all the allies with a strong desire of peace. Philip especially was deeply affected by those sentiments, that were so per-

fectly adapted to his own designs, and to the temper in which Demetrius had already raised him. As soon, therefore, as they had settled the conditions, and ratified the treaty, they all returned again, with peace, to their respective countries. These events all happened in the third year of the hundred-fortieth Olympiad: the defeat of the Romans in Tyrrhenia; the battle between Ptolemy and Antiochus for the sovereignty of Cœle-syria; and the conclusion of the war of Philip and the Achæans, against the Ætolians. This therefore was the time, in which the affairs of Greece were now first connected with those of Italy and Afric. For after this period, Philip and the states of Greece no longer regulated their designs, either with respect to war or peace, by the condition of their own country, but all turned their eyes to Italy, to find there the mark by which all their counsels were to be directed. The people of Asia likewise, and of the Islands, soon followed the example: and from this time, whenever they had any cause of dissension and complaint against Attalus or Philip, instead of imploring aid from Antiochus and Ptolemy, instead of paying any regard to the south and east, they on the contrary fixed their whole attention upon the west, and sometimes sent ambassadors to the Carthaginians, and sometimes to the Romans. The Romans, on the other hand, deputed likewise an embassy into Greece. For

as they well knew the bold and enterprising spirit of Philip, they were filled with no small apprehensions, that this prince would take advantage also of the times, and add a new embarrassment to the difficulties in which they already were involved.

Thus then have we shown, agreeably to our first design, at what time, in what manner, and from what causes, the affairs of Greece were first connected with those of Italy and Afric. As soon therefore as we shall have continued the transactions of the Grecian History, to the time in which the Romans were defeated in the battle of Cannæ, and at which we broke off our relation of the war in Italy, we shall then also close this Book.

As soon as the war was ended, the Achæans chose Timoxenus for their prætor, and, with the rest of the people of Peloponnesus, returning to their own proper laws and customs, and ordinary course of life, began to resume the care of their estates, to cultivate their lands, and to restore again the sacrifices, public games, and all the other rights that were peculiar to their country, and which, among the greater part, had almost sunk into oblivion, through the long continuance of those wars in which they had successively been engaged. For I know not whence it happens, that the people of Peloponnesus, who seem of all men most strongly inclined by nature to cultivate the soft arts of

peace and social life, have less enjoyed those blessings, than almost any nation of the world, at least in ancient times. They rather indeed have been, as the poet Euripides expresses it,

Vex'd with perpetual toils, and ceaseless war.

The cause, however, to which this evil fortune must be ascribed, may be found also in their nature. For being passionately fond of freedom, and eager to retain the supreme command, they choose to have recourse continually to arms, rather than yield a step to any rival power. The Athenians, on the contrary, no sooner were delivered from their apprehensions of the Macedonians, than they began to be persuaded, that the freedom of their state was now securely fixed upon a firm and solid ground. Refusing therefore any more to bear a part in the affairs of Greece, and submitting themselves without reserve, to the guidance of Micyon and Euryclidas, they decreed immoderate honours to all the kings, especially to Ptolemy: and, through the indiscretion of those magistrates, consented, without restraint or shame, to every sordid act of flattery, and carried their adulation to so great excess, that it exceeded even all the bounds of decency.

Not long after this time, Ptolemy was engaged in war against the people of his own kingdom. In arming the Ægyptians for the war against

Antiochus, he had acted wisely indeed with respect to the present times; but with regard to the future, this measure was attended with most pernicious consequences. For the people, elated by the victory which they had gained at Raphia, began to reject with haughtiness the orders of the king: and being persuaded that they had strength sufficient to regain their liberty, they now only waited for a chief, to go before them in the attempt which they already had concerted, and which not long afterwards was carried into execution.

Antiochus, having made great preparations during the winter, as soon as the summer approached passed beyond mount Taurus, entered into an alliance with king Attalus, and began his war against Achæus.

The Ætolians were at first well pleased that they had put an end to a war which had proved so contrary to all their hopes. They chose, therefore, for their prætor, Agelaus of Naupactus, by whose zeal and pains the peace had chiefly been concluded. Yet scarcely any time had passed when they fell again into discontent and murmurs, and threw out bitter reproaches against this magistrate; who, by having made the peace not with any single people, but with all the states of Greece, had cut off at once all the means of plunder to which they had been accustomed, and had left them destitute of every hope. But Agelaus supported their unjust com-

plaints with so great firmness, that he restrained the madness of their inclinations, and forced them, even against their nature, to be quiet.

King Philip, after the conclusion of the peace, returned by sea to Macedon; and being informed that Scerdilaidas, using still the same pretence, upon which he had before surprised some vessels at Leucas, had now pillaged a little town of Pelagonia, called Pissæum; and in Dassarétis, had received upon terms of treaty the cities of Phæbatis, Antipatria, Chrysondion, and Geruns; and that he had ravaged a considerable part of Macedon, which lay upon the confines of these cities; he immediately began his march with a body of forces in order to recover again these places, and to give, if it was possible, an entire defeat to Scerdilaidas. For he judged it to be above all things necessary, that he should first firmly settle the affairs of Illyria, and by that means obtain full leisure to pursue without restraint his other projects, and especially his expedition into Italy. For this design was so continually pressed upon him by Demetrius, that it not only filled his mind all day, but even by night became the subject of his dreams. This earnestness, however, with which Demetrius thus urged the king to transport his forces into Italy, by no means sprung from any desire to advance the interests of Philip; though this, perhaps, might be admitted as a third consideration in his mind. But as, on the one hand, he was himself

inflamed with a strong and inveterate hatred against the Romans, so he was persuaded also, on the other hand, that if this project should be carried into execution he should be able to recover again the sovereignty which he had lost in Pharos. Philip then advancing with his army, regained the cities that were just now mentioned: and having taken also in Dassaretis, Creonium and Geruns; upon the lake Lychnidia, Enchelanæ, Cerax, Station, and Boii; in the district of the Calicœnians, Bantia; and in that of the Pyssantines, Orgysus; he then sent his army into winter quarters. This was the winter in which Annibal, having ravaged all the noblest parts of Italy, fixed his camp near Gerunium in Daunia; and in which the Romans also chose for consuls, Caius Terentius and Æmilius.

The king, while he remained in winter quarters, reflected with himself that in order more effectually to advance his projects, it would be necessary to provide a naval armament, completely equipped; not with design to carry on the war by sea against the Romans, which he could scarcely hope to do with any kind of advantage or success, but that he might be able to transport his forces from place to place, as occasion should demand, and fall upon the enemy before they could be informed of his approach. And as the vessels that were at this time used among the Illyrians seemed most proper for this purpose, he resolved to build upon that model a

hundred barks; and was the first indeed of all the kings of Macedon that ever had engaged in such an undertaking. When the vessels were all finished and equipped, and the summer began also to approach, he drew together his forces; and having employed a little time to instruct the Macedonians in the exercise of the oar, he sailed out to sea, about the time in which Antiochus passed beyond mount Taurus; and steering his course through the Euripus, and round the promontory Malea, he arrived near the islands Cephallenia and Leucas, and waited at anchor there, attending to the motions of the Roman fleet. And when he was informed that some of their vessels, which had directed their course to Lilybæum, remained still at anchor at that port, he again sailed out to sea, and advanced with confidence as far as to the coast of Apollonia. But as he approached the mouth of the river Lous, which flows through that part of the country, a panic terror, not unlike to those which are sometimes seen in the armies upon land, ran suddenly through all the fleet. For some barks that had sailed in the rear of all the rest, and had cast anchor near the island Sason, at the entrance of the Ionian sea, came by night to Philip, and informed him that certain vessels, arriving from the Straits, had joined them near that island, and acquainted them that they had left at Rhegium some Roman quinqueremes, which were sailing towards Apollonia, to assist Scerdilaidas. Philip,

therefore, being apprehensive that this fleet was just ready to appear in sight, immediately weighed anchor, and directed his course back again with the greatest haste. And when he had continued his flight, both by night and day, without any intermission, he arrived again on the second day at Cephallenia; and having, in some degree, resumed his courage, he cast anchor there, and pretended that some affairs in Peloponnesus had forced him to return.

But these fears were found at last to be entirely false and groundless. It was true, indeed, that Scerdilaidas, having been informed that Philip had equipped a naval armament, and not doubting but that this prince would soon arrive by sea, and renew the war against him, had implored some succours from the Romans; who sent accordingly to his assistance ten vessels, from the fleet which lay at Lilybæum; and these were the ships that had been seen at Rhegium. But if Philip, instead of being hurried into a rash and inconsiderate flight, had waited the arrival of these vessels, he not only must have gained an easy victory against them, but might also have obtained a most fair occasion for reducing all Illyria. For the great progress and success of Annibal, with the battle which had been fought but just before at Cannæ, engaged at this time all the attention of the Romans. But the king being struck, as we have said, by vain and senseless apprehensions, returned again with disgrace to Macedon, though not with any loss.

About this time also, a very memorable exploit was performed by Prusias. The Gauls, who, on account of the high fame which they had gained in arms, had been brought by Attalus from Europe, to assist him in his war against Achæus, having left the service of that prince in the manner which we before have mentioned, committed horrid outrages and devastations in many of the cities of the Hellespont, and at last laid siege to Ilium. But the people of Alexandria, in Troas, sent against them four thousand men under the conduct of Themistes, and forced them to raise the siege. And having intercepted likewise their provisions, and defeated them in every project, they at last constrained them to abandon all the province. Being thus driven from Troas, they then seized Arisba in the Abydenian district; and from thence making their incursions, pillaged and insulted all the cities that were near. Prusias, therefore, led an army against them in the field, and engaged them in a set battle. The men were all destroyed in the action, their wives and children slaughtered in the camp, and their baggage left a prey to the conquerors. By this great victory the cities of the Hellespont were at once delivered from their fears; and the Barbarians of Europe also were instructed for the time to come not rashly to engage in the design of passing into Asia.

Such then was the condition of affairs in Asia, and in Greece. In Italy, after the defeat at Cannæ, the greater part of the neighbouring

people joined themselves to the Carthaginians, as we have already mentioned. But as we have now completed our relation of those transactions that happened in the hundred-fortieth Olympiad, we shall here close this book; and in that which follows, after a short and summary review of the events that have already been related, we shall go on, agreeably to our design and promise, to describe the form and constitution of the Roman government.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST*.

The origin and natural revolutions of civil government. An analysis of the government of Rome.

CHAPTER I.

***WITH regard, indeed, to those states of Greece which have been often raised to a high

* It is altogether uncertain at what time, and by whose labour or direction, these extracts, from the sixth to the seventeenth book, were selected from the history. Casaubon indeed judges it to have been the work of Marcus Brutus: upon the authority, as I suppose, of Plutarch and of Suidas. The first of these, speaking of the behaviour of Brutus on the day before the battle of Pharsalia, says; "that, when dinner was ended in the camp, while others either went to sleep, or were disquieting their minds with apprehensions concerning the approaching battle, he employed himself in writing till the evening, composing an epitome of Polybius." The words of Suidas are these: "Brutus wrote some letters, and an epitome of Polybius the historian." But an epitome, that is, an abridgement, is a work of a very different kind. The abridger of a history preserves the substance of it entire; omitting such parts only as seem to be superfluous, or of small importance.

degree of strength and power, and again as frequently have suffered an entire reverse of fortune,

He relates events in regular order, and in the due course of succession. He forms a chain, of smaller length, indeed, but composed of intermediate and dependent links. He employs also his own style and language: or if he adopts those of his author, it is commonly with some degree of variation which renders them his own. Even in compiling what are called the heads of a history, some connexion and consistency are still required; and such order of the parts as may carry with it the appearance of an entire body. But in these extracts no series of history is preserved. They are all single and separated portions: separated from the body of the work, and not joined even by the smallest connexion one with another. That they remain also in the very words in which they were originally written, is evident not only from the language throughout, which is so peculiar as to exclude all doubt, but more particularly from a single circumstance, which in this case is certain and decisive. Almost every one of these selected portions has in the first sentence one of those connecting particles which show that another period had gone before. These particles, which add nothing to the sense, which bear a manifest relation to some former sentence, and which, by being retained, serve only to render the beginning of each passage imperfect and abrupt, are alone sufficient to demonstrate that the extracts, as they were selected arbitrarily, and with no reference to any certain plan, were copied also with the most minute exactness, and without diminution or addition. If this then be the work designed by Plutarch and by Suidas, it must at least be acknowledged that they have spoken of it in very improper terms.

But Brutus composed abridgements likewise of the books of Fannius, and of Cælius Antipater, two Roman historians: and Cicero mentions each of these works under the same title of an epitome. In one of his letters he says, " that he had

it would be no hard task either to treat of the events that have happened among them in past

copied his account of a certain fact, which Atticus had controverted with him, from Brutus's epitome of the books of Fannius; and that, as Atticus had refuted him by demonstration, he would now refute Atticus by the authority of Brutus and of Fannius." In another letter he desires, "that Atticus would send him Brutus's epitome of the books of Cælius." And were these abridgements also barely a transcript of separate and unconnected passages? It is scarcely to be conceived, that Brutus, if he ever had employed himself in a labour of this kind for the sake of his own improvement, would have suffered such collections to be published with his name, and be dispersed among his friends: or that Cicero particularly should have been disposed to see or to consult a volume of mere extracts, when the entire histories both of Fannius and Cælius must undoubtedly have had a place in his library.

It seems then that the opinion which ascribes the choice of these extracts to Brutus, not only is destitute of every kind of proof, but wants even the support of probability. Other conjectures might perhaps as easily be offered. But nothing is more vain or trifling than to form conjectures when the truth itself, if it could be known with certainty, would be but of little value. By what person soever the choice was made, it is manifest that it was made with very good judgement; and that the passages all were copied with the most scrupulous fidelity. In this state they now remain: not to be considered as a history; but as genuine and authentic materials for a history of the times to which they belong. Or rather they are to be regarded as so many distinct and separate lessons of political, military, and moral instruction. In this view they will be found to be truly valuable: and the question, at what time, or by whom they were selected, like most other questions which are merely critical, is a matter of curiosity rather than of use.

times, or to speak with some assurance concerning those that must hereafter happen. For it is easy to recount transactions that are known, and obvious likewise, from an attentive view of former accidents, to derive a foresight of the future. But with regard to the republic of the Romans, as the present condition of the government, on account of that variety of parts of which it is composed, cannot be explained without great labour; so, on the other hand, the want of being sufficiently acquainted both with the general institutions, and particular conduct, that have prevailed among this people in former times, renders it not less difficult to pronounce concerning their future fortune. It will be necessary, therefore, to employ the closest pains in order to obtain a distinct and comprehensive knowledge of the advantages that are peculiar to the constitution of this state.

Among those, then, who have treated of these matters in the way of science, the greatest part have distinguished civil government into three several kinds: royalty, aristocracy, and democracy. But, it may very reasonably be demanded of these writers, whether they speak of these as the only kinds, or simply as the best. In either case, indeed, they must be charged with error. For, first, that kind of government is undoubtedly to be esteemed the best, which is composed of all the three now mentioned. The proof of this is evident, from experience

and from fact, as well as reason. Such, for example, was the system first invented by Lycurgus, and established by him in Sparta. Nor is it true, on the other hand, that these are the only kinds. For many are the examples of monarchical and tyrannical governments, which are greatly different from royalty; though they appear indeed to bear some kind of resemblance to it: which gives occasion to all monarchs, to cover themselves, as well as they are able, under this disguise, and falsely to assume the regal name. There are likewise many oligarchical states, which seem to approach nearly in their form to aristocracies; though these are in truth very widely distant from them. The same observation may be made, with respect also to democracies. The following illustration will serve more clearly to explain my meaning.

It is not every government, which is conducted by a single sovereign, that is immediately to be termed a royalty; but that alone, which was at first bestowed by the consent of those who are governed; and which is administered according to right reason, rather than by force and terror. In the same manner, neither is every state to be called an aristocracy, which places the supreme direction of affairs in the hands of a few; but that only, in which those who are most distinguished by their prudence and integrity are appointed by free choice to govern. Nor, lastly, is that to be esteemed a

democracy, in which the whole multitude usurp the liberty of pursuing their own counsels and designs without control. But when we see a people, who, from the ancient manners of their country, are accustomed to pay due worship to the gods, to revere their parents, to show respect to the aged, and to obey the laws; when, in the assemblies of citizens like these, the resolutions of the greater part are made the rule of government; then we behold the form of a just democracy.

There are therefore six different kinds of government: three, which are in the mouths of all men, and which have now been mentioned; and three more, that are allied to these by nature; monarchy, oligarchy, and the government of the multitude. Of all these, the first in order is monarchy; which is established by the bare work of nature, without any preparation or design. From monarchy arises royalty; when art has been applied, to correct the vices of the former. And when royalty has degenerated into its congenial evil, which is tyranny; the destruction of the latter gives birth to aristocracy. This again being changed, according to the natural order of things, into oligarchy; the subjects, roused to vengeance by oppression, resist the injustice of their governors, and establish a democracy. And, in the last place, when the people themselves become haughty and untractable, and reject all law; to demo-

cracy succeeds, in the course of time, the government of the multitude.

That this deduction is agreeable to truth, will be clear to every one, who considers with attention the commencement and first rise, as well as the changes, which nature has appropriated to each particular kind of government. And indeed there is no other way, but by observing what was the natural birth of every state, to judge with certainty concerning the progress of it towards perfection, and from thence to decline and ruin; and to discern, at what time, in what manner, and into what different form it will at last be changed. Above all others, the Roman government may best be illustrated by such a method of inquiry: because this state, both in its first establishment, and subsequent increase, displays a close conformity with the settled laws, and regular course of nature.

I am not ignorant indeed, that Plato, and some other philosophers, have already treated with the greatest accuracy, of the several forms of government, and their alternate revolutions. But as there are but few, that are able to comprehend the length of their discourses, and the variety of matter which they contain; I shall endeavour rather to give a summary account of those more obvious principles, which are adapted both to common apprehension, and to the purposes of civil history. And in case that any obscurity or defect should be found in the

general view, the particular detail, which I shall afterwards subjoin, will afford ample compensation, by removing every difficulty.

What then are the commencements, and what the original rise, of political societies? When a deluge, a pestilential disease, a famine, or any other similar cause, has brought destruction upon the human race; as tradition assures us it has happened in former times, and as it is probable it will again hereafter happen; and when all arts and institutions are extinguished also in the same calamity; from the few, that are left alive, another progeny of men springs up; who, being conscious of their natural weakness, and attracted, like all other animals, to a union with their own kind, associate themselves together in a body. At this time, therefore, it is manifest, that he who is superior both in strength and courage, must govern and conduct the rest. For that this is indeed the genuine work of nature, is most clearly seen in the examples of the several kinds of animals, which are led by natural instinct only, unimproved by reason. Such are cocks, bulls, and boars, as well as other kinds; among all which, those that are confessedly the first in strength, are placed at the head of all the herd. Such, therefore, is the original state of men; when they assemble together in a manner not unlike to that of other animals; and are led by those that are the bravest and most powerful. And this state

may properly be called a monarchy: in which the authority of those that govern is measured by their strength. But afterwards, when in these societies a common education and mutual intercourse have produced new sentiments and habits, then first commences royalty; then first arise in the human mind the notions of honourable and base, of just and unjust. These sentiments, and this change of government, are formed in the following manner.

From the union of the two sexes, to which all are naturally inclined, children are born. When any of these therefore, being arrived at perfect age, instead of yielding suitable returns of gratitude and of assistance to those by whom they have been bred, on the contrary attempt to injure them, either by words or actions; it is manifest, that those who behold the wrong, after having also seen the sufferings and the anxious care that were sustained by the parents in the nourishment and education of these children, must be greatly offended and displeased at such proceeding. For man, who among all the various kinds of animals is alone endowed with the faculty of reason, cannot, like the rest, pass over such actions with indifference: but will make reflection on what he sees; and, comparing likewise the future with the present, will not fail to express his indignation at this injurious treatment; to which, as he foresees, he also may at some time be exposed. Thus again,

when any one, who has been succoured by another in the time of danger, instead of showing the like kindness to his benefactor, endeavours, at any time, to destroy or hurt him; it is certain, that all men must be shocked by such ingratitude; through sympathy with the resentment of their neighbour; and from an apprehension also, that the case may be their own. And from hence arises, in the mind of every man, a certain sense of the nature and force of duty, in which consists both the beginning and the end of justice. In the same manner likewise, the man, who in the defence of others is seen to throw himself the foremost into every danger, and even to sustain the fury of the fiercest animals, never fails to obtain the loudest acclamations of applause and veneration from all the multitude; while he, who shows a different conduct, is pursued with censure and reproach. And thus it is, that the people begin to discern the nature of things honourable or base, and in what consists the difference between them; and to perceive, that the former, on account of the advantage that attends them, are fit to be admired and imitated, and the latter to be detested and avoided. When he, therefore, who possesses the greatest power, and is placed at the head of all the rest, is found always to comply with the general sentiments, in supporting fortitude and merit, and in distributing to every one impartial justice; the people no

longer dreading his superior force, but paying a willing obedience to his wisdom, submit themselves to his authority, and, with one consent, maintain him in his government against all invaders, even to extreme old age. And thus the monarch by insensible degrees, becomes a king; when reason takes the rule, in the place of strength and violence. Such are the first perceptions among mankind of justice and injustice, of base and honourable; and such the origin and rise of genuine royalty. For the people not only confirm these leaders in the possession of the power to which they have been raised, but preserve it to their children likewise: being persuaded, that those who have received their birth and education from virtuous parents, cannot but resemble them in manners. And if, at any time, they are displeased at the conduct of these descendants, they then choose other magistrates and kings. But having been taught to discern by past experience the difference between external faculties and the endowments of the mind, they now appoint to the supreme command, not those that excel in bodily strength and vigour, but those who are distinguished by their wisdom and superior reason.

In ancient times then, those who had been once judged worthy to be invested with the regal dignity, continued, during the remainder of their lives, in the undisturbed possession and exercise of government: fortifying all the ad-

vantageous posts; enclosing their towns with walls, and obtaining such an increase of territory as was necessary for the security or the plentiful subsistence of their subjects. And as they assumed no great distinction either in their dress or table, but lived a life that was conformable in every point to that of the other citizens, they raised against themselves no envy, nor afforded any matter of offence. But their descendants, having received the sovereignty in the course of hereditary succession, and finding that all things already were obtained that were convenient for defence, and that the abundance of all necessaries exceeded the demands of nature, were soon hurried, by the wantonness of ease and plenty, into an open gratification of every passion. They then began to be persuaded that it was necessary that kings should be distinguished from their subjects by more splendid habits, and be served with more costly and luxurious tables; and pursued also with full career the indulgence of their amours, however lawless, without admitting any contradiction or control. The first of these disorders soon excited envy and offence, and the latter wrath and unrelenting hatred. And from hence the royalty being now converted into tyranny, the dissolution of it was begun, by machinations formed against the persons of the sovereigns. These conspiracies were at first contrived, not by men of obscure or low condition, but by those

of noblest birth, and who were the most distinguished by their courage and exalted spirit: for such are at all times most impatient of the insolence of princes. But the people being not less offended also and enraged, having once obtained such leaders, readily joined their forces in the same attempt. And thus the form of royalty and monarchy being utterly destroyed, an aristocracy grew up, and was established in its place.

For the people, moved with present gratitude towards those who had delivered them from tyranny, resolved to invest them with the government, and submitted themselves to their guidance and dominion. And these, being on their part also not less satisfied with the honour that was bestowed upon them, regarded the good of the community as the only rule of their administration; and employed their whole care and pains to promote the happiness of individuals, as well as to advance the common interests of all. But when again the children of these governors were raised in the course of succession likewise to the same authority; unpractised, as they had always been, in hardship or misfortune; and unexperienced also in that equality and liberty upon which the government was founded; having been nurtured from their birth in the pre-eminence and honours of their parents; they began, some of them to accumulate inordinate wealth by fraud and violence; while others, allowing a full indulgence

to their passions, abandoned themselves without restraint to riot and intemperance, adulteries, and rapes. And thus the aristocracy being now changed into an oligarchy, the passions of the multitude were once more inflamed; and the same destruction followed that had before fallen upon the kings, when they had degenerated into tyrants. For no sooner was there found a single citizen, who, being encouraged by the general discontent and hatred that such a conduct had occasioned, was bold enough, either by words or actions, to attempt any thing against the governors, than the people with one consent were ready to concur in the design. And when they had killed or driven into banishment their oppressors, not daring to establish royalty, on account of the misconduct of the former kings; and being deterred also by the mischiefs which they still more lately had experienced from yielding the sovereignty to any certain number; they were then forced to have recourse to the single expedient that was left untried; and to place in themselves alone their confidence of safety. And having assumed into their own hands the conduct and the trust of government, they thus framed a democracy upon the ruins of the oligarchy.

During some time afterwards, and while any of those remained alive who had beheld the miseries that flowed from the former unequal government, the people were all well pleased to

maintain this popular state; and thought that nothing was more valuable than equality and liberty. But after the course of one or two successions, as new men sprang up, even these enjoyments, being now become familiar to them, began, through long use and habit, to be lessened in their esteem, and to give place to the desire of pre-eminence and power. Above all the rest, those who had acquired the greatest wealth, being eager likewise to possess the sovereign rule, and not able to obtain it by their own strength and virtue, endeavoured to draw the people to their side; scattering among them, with profusion, all their riches, and employing every method of corruption; till, by degrees, they had taught them to fix their whole attention upon the gifts by which they were sustained, and rendered their avidity subservient to the views of their own wild ambition. And thus the frame of the democracy was dissolved; and gave place to the rule of violence and force. For when once the people are accustomed to be fed without any cost or labour, and to derive all the means of their subsistence from the wealth of other citizens; if at this time some bold and enterprising leader should arise, whose poverty has shut him out from all the honours of the state, then commences the government of the multitude: who run together in tumultuous assemblies, and are hurried into every kind of violence; assassinations, banishments, and divi-

sions of lands: till, being reduced at last to a state of savage anarchy, they once more find a master and a monarch, and submit themselves to arbitrary sway.

Such is the circle in which political societies are revolved, and such the natural order in which the several kinds of government are varied, till they are at last brought back to that original form from which the progress was begun. With the help of being acquainted with these principles, though it may not perhaps be easy to foretel the exact time of every alteration that may happen in a state, yet, if our sentiments are free from prejudice and passion, we shall very rarely be deceived in judging of the degree, either of exaltation or decline, in which it actually subsists, or in declaring the form into which it must at last be changed. With regard especially to the commonwealth of Rome, this view of things cannot fail to lead us into the knowledge both of the original constitution, and the gradual progress of it towards perfection, as well as of the future revolution also that awaits it. For as this government, above all others, received, as we have already observed, both its first establishment, and subsequent increase, from the settled laws of nature; it is reasonable to believe, that it will follow the same laws likewise, in being changed hereafter into a contrary form. But this will be more distinctly seen in the following parts of this discourse. I shall

now give a short account of the frame of government that was established by Lycurgus. Such a digression will not be foreign to my design.

This legislator then, having considered with himself, that, according to the necessary and established course of all things, the several accidents and changes that have now been mentioned, were inevitable, formed this conclusion: that every simple and single kind of government was insecure, on account of its proneness to degenerate into that more vicious kind, which was most nearly allied to it by nature. For as rust is the inbred bane of iron, and worms of wood; and as these substances, even though they should escape all external violence, at last fall a prey to the evils that are as it were congenial with them; in the same manner likewise, every single kind of government breeds within itself some certain vice, which is attached by nature to its very form, and which soon causes its destruction. Thus royalty degenerates into tyranny; aristocracy in oligarchy; and democracy into savage violence. Nor is it possible, as we have already shown, but that in the course of time, these conversions must be thus produced. Lycurgus therefore, foreseeing this necessity, instead of adopting either of the single forms of government, collected what was excellent in them all; and so joined together the principles that were peculiar to each several

form, that no one of them might be extended beyond proper bounds, and slide into the evil to which it was inclined by nature: but that each separate power, being still counteracted by the rest, might be retained in due position, and the whole government be preserved in equal balance; as a vessel, when impelled to either side by the wind, is kept steady by a contrary force. Thus the dread of the people, to whom a certain share was allotted in the government, restrained the excesses and abuse of royalty. The people, on the other hand, were maintained in a due submission to the kings, by their apprehension of the power of the senate. For the members of the senate, being all selected from the best among the citizens, were always ready to support the cause of justice; and, by throwing their own weight into the scale, when either side was in danger of being oppressed by the other, to give such strength to the weakest party, as the constitution of the state required. By these means, the Lacedæmonians preserved their liberty entire, for a much longer time than any other people. And thus it was that Lycurgus, having been taught by reason to foresee a certain train of causes and events, was able to give a lasting strength to his establishment. The Romans on the other hand, though they arrived indeed at the same perfection in the constitution of their state, were not led to it by foresight or by reason. But, during the course

of many contests and disorders in which they were engaged, having been careful always to adopt, upon every change, such improvements as the occasion itself suggested to them, they at last obtained the same end likewise, as that which Lycurgus had proposed; and completed the most beautiful frame of government, of all that are in our times known.

Let me only add, that a good judge of history will not form his opinion of a writer from any thing that is omitted by him, but from that which he relates. If indeed any falsehood should be found in the things which he relates, it may be reasonable to impute the omission of the rest to ignorance. But if, on the other hand, all that he relates be true, it ought then to be acknowledged, that his silence with regard to some particular things is not the effect of ignorance, but of judgement and design.

CHAP. II.

THE three kinds of government, of which we have been speaking, were all found united in the commonwealth of Rome. And so even was the balance between them all, and so regular the administration that resulted from their union, that it was no easy thing, even for the Romans themselves, to determine with assurance, whether the entire state was to be esteemed an aristocracy, a democracy, or a monarchy. For if they turned their view upon the power of the consuls, the government appeared to be purely monarchical and regal. If, again, the authority of the senate was considered, it then seemed to wear the form of aristocracy. And, lastly, if regard was had to the share which the people possessed in the administration of affairs, it could then scarcely fail to be denominated a popular state. The several powers that were appropriated to each of these distinct branches of the constitution at the time of which we are speaking, and which, with very little variation, are even still preserved, are these which follow.

The consuls, while they remain in Rome, before they lead out the armies into the field, are the masters of all public affairs. For all the

other magistrates, the tribunes alone excepted, are subject to them, and bound to obey their commands. They introduce ambassadors into the senate. They propose also to the senate the subjects of debate; and direct all the forms that are observed in making the decrees. Nor is it less a part of their office likewise, to attend to those affairs that are transacted by the people: to call together general assemblies; to report to them the resolutions of the senate; and to ratify whatever is determined by the greater number. In all the preparations that are made for war, as well as in the whole administration in the field, they possess an almost absolute authority. For to them it belongs, to impose upon the allies whatever services they judge expedient; to appoint the military tribunes; to enrol the legions, and make the necessary levies; and to inflict punishments in the field, upon all that are subject to their command. Add to this, that they have the power likewise to expend whatever sums they may think convenient from the public treasure; being attended for that purpose by a quæstor, who is always ready to receive and execute their orders. When any one therefore directs his view to this part of the constitution, it is very reasonable for him to conclude, that the government is no other than a simple royalty. Let me only observe, that if in some of these particular points, or in those that will be hereafter men-

tioned, any change should be either now remarked, or should happen at some future time, such an alteration will not destroy the general principles of this discourse.

To the senate belongs, in the first place, the sole care and management of the public money. For all the returns that are brought into the treasury, as well as all the payments that are issued from it, are directed by their orders. Nor is it allowed to the quæstors to apply any part of the revenue to particular occasions as they arise, without a decree of the senate; those sums alone excepted, which are expended in the service of the consuls. And even those more general, as well as greatest disbursements, which are employed, at the return of every five years, in building and repairing the public edifices, are assigned to the censors for that purpose, by the express permission of the senate. To the senate also is referred the cognizance of all the crimes, committed in any part of Italy, that demand a public examination and inquiry: such as treasons, conspiracies, poisonings, and assassinations. Add to this, that when any controversies arise, either between private men, or any of the cities of Italy, it is the part of the senate to adjust all disputes; to censure those that are deserving of blame: and to yield assistance to those, who stand in need of protection and defence. When any embassies are sent out of Italy; either to reconcile contending states; to

offer exhortations and advice; or even, as it sometimes happens, to impose commands; to propose conditions of a treaty; or to make a denunciation of war; the care and conduct of all these transactions is intrusted wholly to the senate. When any ambassadors also arrive at Rome, it is the senate likewise that determines, in what manner they shall be received and treated, and what answer shall be given to their demands. In all these things, that have now been mentioned, the people has no share. To those therefore, who come to reside in Rome during the absence of the consuls, the government appears to be purely aristocratical. Many of the Greeks especially, and of the foreign princes, are easily led into this persuasion: when they perceive that almost all the affairs, which they are forced to negociate with the Romans, are determined by the senate.

And now it may well be asked, what part is left to the people in this government: since the senate, on the one hand, is vested with the sovereign power, in the several instances that have been here enumerated, and more especially in all things that concern the management and disposal of the public treasure; and since the consuls, on the other hand, are intrusted with the absolute direction of the preparations that are made for war, and exercise an uncontrolled authority in the field. There is, however, a part still allotted to the people; and indeed the most

important part. For first, the people are the sole dispensers of rewards and punishments; which are the only bands, by which states and kingdoms, and, in a word, all human societies, are held together. For when the difference between these is overlooked, or when they are distributed without due distinction, nothing but disorder can ensue. Nor is it possible indeed, that government should be maintained, if the wicked stand in equal estimation with the good. The people then, when any offences demand such punishment, frequently condemn the citizens to the payment of a fine: those especially, who have been invested with the dignities of the state. To the people alone belongs the right to sentence any one to die. Upon this occasion, they have a custom which deserves to be mentioned with applause. The person accused is allowed to withdraw himself in open view, and embrace a voluntary banishment, if only a single tribe remains, that has not yet given judgement; and is suffered to retire in safety to Præneste, Tibur, Naples, or any other of the confederate cities. The public magistracies are allotted also by the people to those who are esteemed worthy of them: and these are the noblest rewards that any government can bestow on virtue. To the people belongs the power of approving or rejecting laws: and, which is still of greater importance, peace and war are likewise fixed by their deliberations. When any

alliance is concluded, any war ended, or treaty made; to them the conditions are referred, and by them either annulled or ratified. And thus again, from a view of all these circumstances, it might with reason be imagined, that the people had engrossed the largest portion of the government, and that the state was plainly a democracy.

Such are the parts of the administration, which are distinctly assigned to each of the three forms of government, that are united in the commonwealth of Rome. It now remains to be considered, in what manner each several form is enabled to counteract the others, or to co-operate with them.

When the consuls, invested with the power that has been mentioned, lead the armies into the field, though they seem indeed to hold such absolute authority as is sufficient for all purposes, yet are they in truth so dependent both on the senate and the people, that without their assistance they are by no means able to accomplish any design. It is well known, that armies demand a continual supply of necessaries. But neither corn, nor habits, nor even the military stipends, can at any time be transmitted to the legions unless by an express order of the senate. Any opposition therefore, or delay, on the part of this assembly, is sufficient always to defeat the enterprises of the generals. It is the senate likewise, that either compels the consuls

to leave their designs imperfect, or enables them to complete the projects which they have formed, by sending a successor into each of their several provinces, upon the expiration of the annual term, or by continuing them in the same command. The senate also has the power to aggrandize and amplify the victories that are gained, or, on the contrary, to depreciate and debase them. For that which is called among the Romans a triumph, in which a sensible representation of the actions of the generals is exposed in solemn procession to the view of all the citizens, can neither be exhibited with due pomp and splendour, nor indeed be in any manner celebrated, unless the consent of the senate be first obtained, together with the sums that are requisite for the expense. Nor is it less necessary on the other hand, that the consuls, how far soever they may happen to be removed from Rome, should be careful to preserve the good affections of the people. For the people, as we have already mentioned, annuls or ratifies all treaties. But that which is of greatest moment is, that the consuls, at the time of laying down their office, are bound also to submit their past administration to the judgement of the people. And thus these magistrates can at no time think themselves secure, if they neglect to gain the approbation both of the senate and the people.

In the same manner the senate also, though

invested with so great authority, is bound to yield a certain attention to the people, and to act in concert with them, in all affairs that are of great and general importance. With regard especially to those offences that are committed against the state, and which demand a capital punishment, no inquiry can be perfected, nor any judgement carried into execution, unless the people confirm what the senate has before decreed. Nor are the things, which more immediately regard the senate itself, less subject to the same control. For if a law should at any time be proposed, to lessen the received authority of the senators; to detract from their honours and pre-eminence; or even to deprive them of a part of their possessions; it belongs wholly to the people to establish or reject it. And even still more; the interposition of a single tribune is sufficient, not only to suspend the deliberations of the senate, but to prevent them also from holding any meeting or assembly. Now the peculiar office of the tribunes is, to declare those sentiments that are most pleasing to the people: and principally to promote their interests and designs. And thus the senate, on account of all these reasons, is forced to cultivate the favour, and gratify the inclinations of the people.

The people again, on their part, are held in a dependence on the senate, and are obliged to pay a certain deference, both to the particular

members, and to the general body. In every part of Italy there are works of various kinds, which are let to farm by the censors; such as the building, or repairing, of the public edifices, which are almost innumerable; the care of rivers, harbours, gardens, mines, and lands; every thing, in a word, that falls beneath the dominion of the Romans. In all these things, the people are the undertakers: insomuch that there are scarcely any to be found, that are not in some degree involved, either in the contracts, or in the management of the works. For some take the farms of the censors at a certain price: others become partners with the first. Some again engage themselves as sureties for the farmers: and others, in support also of these sureties, pledge their own fortunes to the state. Now the supreme direction of all these affairs is placed wholly in the senate. The senate has the power to allot a longer time; to lighten the conditions of the agreement, in case that any accident has intervened; or even to release the contractors from their bargain, if the terms should be found impracticable. There are also many other circumstances, in which those that are engaged in any of these public works, may be either greatly injured, or greatly benefited by the senate; since to this body, as we have already observed, all things that belong to these transactions are constantly referred. But there is still another advantage of much greater moment. For from this order likewise judges are

selected, in almost every accusation of considerable weight, whether it be of a public or private nature. The people therefore, being by these means held under due subjection and restraint, and doubtful of obtaining that protection, which they foresee that they may at some time want, are always cautious of exciting any opposition to the measures of the senate. Nor are they, on the other hand, less ready to pay obedience to the orders of the consuls; through the dread of that supreme authority, to which the citizens in general, as well as each particular man, are obnoxious in the field.

Thus, while each of these separate parts is enabled either to assist or obstruct the rest, the government, by the apt contexture of them all in the general frame, is so well secured against every accident, that it seems scarcely possible to invent a more perfect system. For when the dread of any common danger, that threatens from abroad, constrains all the orders of the state to unite together, and co-operate with joint assistance; such is the strength of the republic, that as, on the one hand, no measures that are necessary are neglected, while all men fix their thoughts upon the present exigency; so neither is it possible, on the other hand, that their designs should at any time be frustrated through the want of due celerity, because all in general, as well as every citizen in particular, employ their utmost efforts, to carry what has been determined into execution. Thus the govern-

ment, by the very form and peculiar nature of its constitution, is equally enabled to resist all attacks, and to accomplish every purpose. And when again all apprehensions of foreign enemies are past, and the Romans being now settled in tranquillity, and enjoying at their leisure all the fruits of victory, begin to yield to the seduction of ease and plenty, and, as it happens usually in such conjunctures, become haughty and ungovernable; then chiefly we may observe, in what manner the same constitution likewise finds in itself a remedy against the impending danger. For whenever either of the separate parts of the republic attempts to exceed its proper limits, excites contention and dispute, and struggles to obtain a greater share of power, than that which is assigned to it by the laws; it is manifest, that since no one single part, as we have shown in this discourse, is in itself supreme or absolute, but that on the contrary the powers which are assigned to each are still subject to reciprocal control, the part, which thus aspires, must soon be reduced again within its own just bounds, and not be suffered to insult or depress the rest. And thus the several orders, of which the state is framed, are forced always to maintain their due position: being partly counterworked in their designs; and partly also restrained from making any attempt, by the dread of falling under that authority to which they are exposed.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The military institutions of the Romans.

CHAP. I.

AS soon as the consuls are declared, the military tribunes are next appointed. Of these, fourteen are taken from the citizens who have carried arms in five campaigns; and ten more from those who have completed ten. For every citizen, before he arrives at the age of forty-six, is obliged to serve either ten years in the cavalry, or sixteen in the infantry: those alone excepted who are placed by the censors below the rate of four hundred drachmæ; and who are all reserved for the service of the sea. In the case of any pressing danger, the time of continuing in the infantry is extended to twenty years. No citizen is permitted by the laws to sue for any magistracy before he has completed the service of ten campaigns.

When the enrolments are to be made, the consuls give notice before to the people of a certain day, upon which all the Romans that are of sufficient age are required to attend. This is done

every year. And when the day arrives, and the men all appear at Rome, and are assembled afterwards in the Capitol, the tribunes of the youngest order divide themselves, as they are appointed either by the consuls or the people, into four separate bodies. For this division corresponds with the first and general distribution of all the forces into four separate legions. Of these tribunes, therefore, the four first named are assigned to the first legion; the three next to the second; the following four to the third; and the last three appointed to the fourth. Of the tribunes of the oldest order the two that are first named are placed in the first legion; the three second in the second; the two that follow in the third; and the remaining three in the fourth. By this distribution and division an equal number of commanders is allotted to each legion. When this is done, the tribunes of each legion, having taken their seats apart, draw out the tribes one by one by lot; and calling to them that upon which the lot first falls, they select from it four young men, as nearly equal as is possible both in age and stature. And when these are brought forward from the rest, the tribunes of the first legion first choose one; then those of the second a second; those of the third take the third; and those of the fourth the last. After these four more are made to approach. And now the tribunes of the second legion first make their choice; then those of the rest in order; and last

of all the tribunes of the first. In the same manner again, from the next four that follow, the tribunes of the third legion choose the first; and those of the second the last. And thus, by observing the same method of rotation to the end, it happens that the legions, with respect to the men of which they are composed are all alike and equal. The number allotted to each legion is four thousand and two hundred; and sometimes five thousand, when any great and unusual danger is foreseen. After these had been thus selected it was anciently the custom to choose the cavalry; and to add two hundred horsemen to each four thousand of the infantry. But in the present times, the citizens, of whom the cavalry is composed, are first enrolled; having been before appointed by the censors, according to the rate of their revenue: and three hundred are assigned to every legion.

When the enrolments are in this manner finished, the tribunes having assembled together in separate bodies the soldiers of their respective legions, choose out a man that seems most proper for the purpose, and make him swear in the following words: "that he will be obedient to his commanders, and execute all the orders that he shall receive from them to the utmost of his power." The rest of the soldiers of the legion, advancing one by one, swear also that they will perform what the first has sworn. About the same time, likewise, the consuls send notice to

the magistrates of the allied cities of Italy, from which they design to draw any forces, what number of troops are wanted, and at what time and place they are required to join the Roman army. The cities, having raised their levies in the same manner that has now been mentioned, and administered to them the same oath, send them away attended by a paymaster and a general.

At Rome the tribunes, after the ceremony of the oath is finished, command all the legions to return without arms upon a certain day, and then dismiss them. And when they are met together again at the appointed time, those that are youngest, and of the lowest condition, are set apart for the light-armed troops. From the next above these in age are selected the hastati: from those that are in full strength and vigour, the principes; and the oldest of all that are inrolled are the triarii. For every legion is composed of all these different bodies; different in name, in age, and in the manner in which they are armed. This division is so adjusted that the triarii amount to six hundred men: the principes are twelve hundred: the hastati an equal number: and all the rest light-armed. If a legion consist of more than four thousand men, the several bodies are increased in due proportion; except only that the number of the triarii always remains the same.

The youngest of these troops are armed with a

sword, light javelins, and a buckler. The buckler is both strongly made, and of a size sufficient for security. For it is of a circular form, and has three feet in the diameter. They wear likewise upon their heads some simple sort of covering; such as the skin of a wolf, or something of a similar kind; which serves both for their defence, and to point out also to the commanders those particular soldiers that are distinguished either by their bravery or want of courage in the time of action. The wood of the javelins is of the length of two cubits, and of the thickness of a finger. The iron part is a span in length: and is drawn out to such a slender fineness towards the point, that it never fails to be bent in the very first discharge, so that the enemy cannot throw it back again. Otherwise it would be a common javelin.

The next in age, who are called the hastati, are ordered to furnish themselves with a complete suit of armour. This among the Romans consists in the first place of a shield of a convex surface; the breadth of which is two feet and a half; and the length four feet, or four feet and a palm in those of the largest size. It is composed of two planks, glued together, and covered first with linen, and afterwards with calve-skin. The extreme edges of it, both above and below, are guarded with plates of iron: as well to secure it against the strokes of swords, as that it may be rested also upon the ground without receiving

any injury. To the surface is fitted likewise a shell of iron; which serves to turn aside the more violent strokes of stones, or spears, or any other ponderous weapon. After the shield comes the sword, which is carried upon the right thigh, and is called the Spanish sword. It is formed not only to push with at the point; but to make a falling stroke with either edge, and with singular effect; for the blade is remarkably strong and firm. To these arms are added two piles or javelins; a helmet made of brass; and boots for the legs. The piles are of two sorts; the one large, the other slender. Of the former those that are round have the breadth of a palm in their diameter; and those that are square the breadth of a palm likewise in a side. The more slender, which are carried with the other, resemble a common javelin of a moderate size. In both sorts, the wooden part is of the length of about three cubits. The iron which is of the same length likewise, and turned outwards at the point, in the form of a double hook, is fastened to the wood with so great care and foresight, being carried upwards to the very middle of it, and transfixed with many close-set rivets, that it is sooner broken in use than loosened; though in the part in which it is joined to the wood, it is not less than a finger and a half in thickness. Upon the helmet is worn an ornament of three upright feathers, either red or black, of about a cubit in height; which being

fixed upon the very top of the head, and added to their other arms, make the troops seem to be of double size, and gives them an appearance which is both beautiful and terrible. Beside these arms, the soldiers in general place also upon their breasts a square plate of brass, of the measure of a span on either side, which is called the guard of the heart. But all those who are rated at more than ten thousand drachmæ cover their breasts with a coat of mail. The principes and the triarii are armed in the same manner likewise as the hastati; except only that the triarii carry pikes instead of javelins.

From each of these several sorts of soldiers, the youngest alone excepted, ten men of distinguished merit are first selected; and after these, ten more. These are all called commanders of companies; and he that is first chosen has a seat in the military council. After these, twenty more are appointed to conduct the rear; and are chosen by the former twenty. The soldiers of each different order, the light troops excepted, are then divided into ten separate parts; to each of which are assigned four officers, of those who have been thus selected; two to lead the van, and two to take the care of the rear. The light-armed troops are distributed in just proportion among them all. Each separate part is called a company, a band, or an ensign: and the leaders, captains of companies or centurions. Last of all, two of the bravest and most vigor-

ous among the soldiers are appointed by the captains to carry the standards in each company. It is not without good reason that two captains are assigned to every company. For as it always is uncertain, what will be the conduct of an officer, or to what accidents he may be exposed; and, as in the affairs of war, there is no room for pretext or excuse; this method is contrived, that the company may not upon any occasion be destitute of a leader. When the captains therefore both are present, he that was first chosen leads the right, and the other the left of the company. And when either of them is absent, he that remains takes the conduct of the whole. In the choice of these captains not those that are the boldest and most enterprising are esteemed the best; but those rather, who are steady and sedate; prudent in conduct, and skilful in command. Nor is it so much required, that they should be at all times eager to begin the combat, and throw themselves precipitately into action; as that, when they are pressed, or even conquered by a superior force, they should still maintain their ground, and rather die than desert their station.

The cavalry is divided also into ten parts or troops. In each of these, three captains first are chosen; who afterwards appoint three other officers to conduct the rear. The first of the captains commands the whole troop. The other two hold the rank and office of decurions:

and all of them are called by that name. In the absence of the first captain, the next in order takes the entire command. The manner in which these troops are armed is at this time the same as that of the Greeks. But anciently it was very different. For, first, they wore no armour upon their bodies; but were covered, in the time of action, with only an under garment. In this method, they were able indeed to descend from their horses, or leap up again upon them, with greater quickness and facility: but, as they were almost naked, they were too much exposed to danger in all close engagements. The spears also that were in use among them in former times were, in a double respect, very unfit for service. First, as they were of a slender make, and always trembled in the hand, it not only was extremely difficult to direct them with exactness towards the destined mark; but very frequently, even before their points had reached the enemy, the greatest part of them were shaken into pieces by the bare motion of the horses. Add to this, that these spears, not being armed with iron at the lowest end, were formed to strike only with the point, and, when they were broken by this stroke, were afterwards incapable of any farther use. Their buckler was made of the hide of an ox, and in form was not unlike to those globular dishes which are used in sacrifices. But this was also of too infirm a texture for defence: and, as it

was at first not very capable of service, it afterwards became wholly useless, when the substance of it had been softened and relaxed by rain. The Romans, therefore, having observed these defects, soon changed their weapons for the armour of the Greeks. For the Grecian spear, which is firm and stable, not only serves to make the first stroke with the point in just direction and with sure effect; but, with the help of the iron at the opposite end, may, when turned, be employed against the enemy with equal steadiness and force. In the same manner also the Grecian shields, being strong in texture, and capable of being held in a fixed position, are alike serviceable both for attack and for defence. These advantages were soon perceived, and the arms adopted by the cavalry. For the Romans, above all other people, are excellent in admitting foreign customs that are preferable to their own.

As soon as this partition of the troops is finished, and the necessary orders given by the tribunes concerning their arms, they are then commanded to return to their respective habitations, till the day arrives, upon which they are bound by oath to assemble together in a certain place appointed by the consuls. Each of the consuls usually appoints a different place for the assembling of his whole army: for, to each of them are allotted separately two Roman legions, together with an equal part of the

allies. No pretence of accident is at any time allowed to those that are enrolled; nor any excuse admitted, in opposition to their oath, to discharge them from appearing on the day prescribed; unless some auspices should intervene, or some disaster happen, which renders their attendance absolutely impracticable. When they are all met together, the distribution of the allies, who are assembled also with the Romans, is regulated by twelve officers, called prefects, and appointed by the consuls, in the following manner. They first choose out from all the allies a body of the bravest and most skilful soldiers, both cavalry and infantry, to serve near the person, and under the immediate orders, of the consuls. These are called the extraordinary, or selected troops. The whole infantry of the allies is usually the same in number with that of the Romans; but the cavalry three times as many. Among these, about a third part of the cavalry, and a fifth part of the infantry, are set apart as extraordinaries. The rest are then divided by the prefects into two equal bodies; one of which is called the right, and the other the left wing. When all things are thus prepared, the tribunes direct both the Romans and the allies to encamp.

As the method of this encampment is uniform and simple, at all times and in every place the same, I shall here endeavour to set before the reader a clear description of the order that is

observed in the Roman armies, both in their marches and encampments; and of the manner also in which they are drawn up in battle. For no man, surely, who is not utterly averse to all great and laudable pursuits, can be unwilling to attend to such inquiries; in which his search will be rewarded with a kind of knowledge not unworthy of the pains.

CHAP. II.

THIS then is the manner in which the Romans form their camp. As soon as the ground is chosen for the purpose, that part of it which is judged to be the most convenient, both for the dispatch of orders, and for discerning every thing that is transacted, is first marked out for the place of the consular tent. In this place, an ensign is planted in the ground, and round it is measured a quadrangular figure, every side of which is distant from the ensign a hundred feet; so that the whole contents of it are equal to the space of four acres. On one side of this figure, the side that appears to be the most commodious for water and for forage, the Roman legions are disposed in the following order. In every legion there are six tribunes, as we have already mentioned; and two legions are assigned

to each of the consuls. With each consul, therefore, twelve tribunes always are encamped. Their tents are ranged in one right line, which is parallel to that side of the quadrangular space that has been chosen, and distant from it fifty feet. The ground between is occupied by their horses, their beasts of burthen, and other baggage. These tents are so disposed, that the back of them is turned towards the consular ground; while the opposite side looks down upon the external aspect of the camp, which we shall hereafter therefore call the front. They are set at equal distances each from the other; and so extended, that the line, upon which they stand, traverses the whole breadth of the space that is occupied by the legions.

A hundred feet are then measured downwards, from the front of the tents of the tribunes: and at the extremity of this distance a line is drawn, which runs parallel to these tents. From this line forwards, the legions are encamped in the following manner. The line being first divided into two equal parts, from the point of the division another right line is drawn; on either side of which, and at an equal distance from it, is placed the cavalry of the two legions; opposite the one to the other; and separated from each other by a space of fifty feet. The disposition of the tents, both of the cavalry, and of the infantry, is the same. For every company, as well as every troop, occupies a square

piece of ground, the front of which is turned towards the open spaces, and contains in length a hundred feet. The depth of it is usually so adjusted as to be equal to the length; except in the encampment of the triarii, and the allies. When the legions are composed of any greater number, both the length and depth of this ground are increased in due proportion. The cavalry, being thus placed towards the middle of the tents of the tribunes, forms a kind of street, which runs down transversely from the right line before mentioned, and the space that lies before those tents. All the other spaces bear also the resemblance of regular streets; the sides of which are formed by the troops and companies, which are ranged lengthways through the camp.

Behind the cavalry, and in the same form likewise, are placed the triarii of both legions: a company being joined close to every troop; but looking a contrary way; and containing in depth only one half of its length. For the triarii usually amount to no more than half of the number of the other bodies. But as the depth of the companies is thus diminished, the ground upon which they are ranged is rendered equal in length to that which is occupied by the rest.

Opposite to the triarii of the two legions, and at the distance of fifty feet on either side, the principes are encamped; with their faces turned

towards the open spaces. By this position, two more streets are formed; which take their beginning also at the same right line, or space of a hundred feet that lies before the tents of the tribunes; and are ended on the opposite side, which we before called the front of all the camp. Next to the principes are lodged the hastati; being placed close behind the former, but looking also a contrary way. As each of the different bodies, of which a legion is composed, is divided into ten companies, from hence it happens, that the several intervals, or streets are all of an equal length, and are alike terminated by that side of the camp which is the front; towards which also the last of all the companies are always turned.

At the distance of fifty feet from the hastati, and opposite also to them, is lodged the cavalry of the allies; beginning from the same right line; and extended likewise, as the other bodies, down to the front of the camp. The whole infantry of the allies, as we have already mentioned, before the extraordinaries are selected, is equal to that of the legions: and the cavalry, after a third part has been taken from it to serve as extraordinaries, is double in number to the Roman cavalry. The depth therefore of the ground, upon which these troops are placed, is enlarged in such proportion, that they cover always the same space in length with that which is occupied by the Romans. The several streets,

which are five in number, being thus completely formed, the infantry of the allies, to whose companies a depth of ground is also assigned in proportion to their number, is, in the same manner, ranged close behind the cavalry, but looking a contrary way. For their faces are turned towards the intrenchment, and look down upon both sides of the camp.

In every company, the foremost tents on either side are occupied by the centurions. In this disposition both of the infantry and cavalry, the sixth company and the sixth troop are separated from the fifth by a distance of fifty feet. By this division another street is formed, which traverses all the rest, and passes through the middle of the camp, in a line parallel to the tents of the tribunes. This street, on account of the position of it below five companies is called the Quintan.

The space, that falls behind the tents of the tribunes, and which lies close, on either hand, to the consular ground, is allotted, one side of it for the forum, and the other for the place of the quæstor and the military stores. Behind the last of the tents of the tribunes on either side, and in a line, which, falling upon those tents, forms that kind of figure which is called the forceps, the extraordinary cavalry is lodged, together with the volunteers that accompany the consul: being all of them extended along the two sides of the camp; with their faces

turned towards the place of the quæstor on the one side, and to the forum on the other. And as they are in this manner placed near the consul in the camp, so likewise in the marches, and in a word, upon all occasions that arise, they are bound to observe with particular attention, both the quæstor and the consul; and to be at all times ready to receive their orders. Close behind this cavalry, but with their faces turned towards the intrenchment, the infantry which is selected also for the same service, is encamped.

Above these troops is left an open space of a hundred feet in breadth, and parallel to the tents of the tribunes, which passes along the forum, the consular ground and the place of the quæstor; and is continued through the whole extent of the camp. On the upper side of it is placed the extraordinary cavalry of the allies; looking down upon the forum, the place of the quæstor, and the consular ground. Between the middle of their tents, and opposite to the consular ground is left another open space, of the breadth of fifty feet; which divides the former at right angles, and leads towards the hindmost part of the camp. Close again behind this cavalry, the extraordinary infantry of the allies is lodged; with their faces turned towards the intrenchment, and to the rear of all the camp. The ground that remains unoccupied on either side is reserved for strangers,

or for such of the allies as are brought by any temporary occasion to the army. When the arrangement is thus completed, the entire camp forms the figure of an equilateral square: and with respect to the several parts, the separation of them into streets, together with the order in which all things are disposed, renders the appearance not unlike to a city.

The intrenchment is distant from the tents on every side two hundred feet. The ground that lies between is subservient to many valuable purposes. It renders the entrance of the legions into the camp as well as their egress from it both easy and commodious. For as the several companies advance into this open space according to the direction of their respective streets, they never meet together in the way, nor are exposed to the danger of being thrown down and trampled upon each by the other. In this place likewise the cattle and all the spoil that is taken from the enemy is kept in safety during the night. But the greatest advantage is, that in case of an attack by night, neither fire nor scarcely any weapon can reach the troops; and even those few javelins that happen to fall among them are rendered ineffectual by the distance, as well as by the tents that cover them on every side.

From this detail of the numbers, both of the infantry and cavalry of which an army is at any time composed; whether four or five thousand men be allotted to each legion;

from the description of the depth and length of the ground upon which the companies are lodged; and from the account of the measure and respective distances of the streets and open spaces; it will be easy to conceive the extent and whole circumference of the camp. When the allies that first join the army, or those that are brought by any occasion to the camp, exceed the usual number, the ground that lies on one side of the consular tent, together with that which was before mentioned, is assigned to the latter; the forum and the place of the quæstor being thrown together for this purpose as the necessity requires. And with regard to the former, the numbers that are redundant are disposed in another separate street, behind the Roman legions, on both sides of the camp. When the four legions and both the consuls are assembled together within one intrenchment, in order to understand the manner of their encampment, nothing more is necessary than to conceive two armies lodged in the form that has been now described, turned one towards the other, and joined together in the part that is assigned to the extraordinaries of either army; who are placed as we have already mentioned, in the rear of all the camp, with their faces turned towards the intrenchment. In this position the camp forms the figure of an oblong square. The ground upon which it stands is double in extent to that

of the former camp; and the circumference of it larger by one half. Such is the method which is constantly observed when both consuls are encamped together within the same intrenchment. And when they form separate camps, the only difference is, that the forum, the place of the quæstor, and the consular tents, are placed in the middle, between both the armies.

CHAP. III.

AS soon as the encampment is completed, the tribunes, having assembled together all the persons, both free men and slaves, that are in the army, administer to every one of them apart the following oath: "That they will not steal any thing from the camp; and even if they find any thing that they will bring it to the tribunes." Two companies are then selected from the principes and the hastati of each legion; to whose care is assigned the ground that lies before the tents of the tribunes. For as the Romans usually pass the whole time of day in this open space, they employ great care to keep it continually cleansed and sprinkled. Of the remaining eighteen companies three are allotted to every tribune. For in every legion

there are twenty companies of principes and hastati, as we have already mentioned, and six tribunes. The service which these three companies are obliged to perform in turn for the tribune to whom they are respectively assigned, is to fix his tent, to make the ground around it plain and level, and to cover his baggage, if it be necessary, with a fence. It is their duty likewise to place a double guard near him for his security. This guard consists of four soldiers, two of whom are stationed before the tent, and two behind it, near to the horses. As three companies are thus allotted to every tribune, and as each company, without including the triarii and the light-armed troops, who are both exempted from this duty, contains more than a hundred men, this service falling to each company in turn upon every fourth day only, becomes very light and easy; and, while it ministers in all things that are necessary to the convenience of the tribunes, renders their office likewise more illustrious, and brings respect to their authority.

The triarii are discharged from bearing any part in this attendance. But each of their companies is obliged to furnish every day a guard to the troop of cavalry that lies close behind it. The duty of this guard, among other functions, is principally to observe the horses: that they may not at any time be rendered unfit for service by being entangled in the bands that hold them;

or by breaking away, and falling in among other horses, create tumult and disorder in the camp. One company alone which is selected in turn from the whole body of these troops, is stationed round the tent of the consul; as well to secure his person against all surprise, as for the sake of adding splendour also to his dignity.

The intrenchment is made by the allies, on those two sides, near to which their two wings are encamped. The two other sides are left to the Romans; to each legion, one. Each side is divided into certain portions, according to the number of the companies; and a centurion assigned, to overlook the work in every portion. The whole side is afterwards examined and approved by two of the tribunes; whose office it is to attend to every thing that is done in the camp. For the tribunes, dividing among themselves the time of their campaign, and presiding, two in turn, during two months of the six, have the supreme direction of every kind of necessary work and service, that falls within the time of their command. The same duty is performed, in the same manner likewise, among the allies, by the officers who are called prefects.

As soon as daylight appears, the leaders of the cavalry, and the centurions, attend all together at the tents of the tribunes; and the tribunes at that of the consul. The necessary orders are then delivered by the consul to the

tribunes; by the tribunes to the centurions and the leaders of the cavalry; and by these, as the proper time for each arrives, to the rest of the army.

The delivery of the signal for the night is secured in the following manner. Every tenth cohort, both of infantry and cavalry, is lodged at the extreme end of those lines which form the separate streets. From each of these a soldier is selected, who is discharged from all the duties of the guard. This soldier, every day about the time of the setting of the sun, goes to the tent of the tribune, and receives from him the signal; which is a flat tablet of wood, with some word inscribed upon it; and, having returned back again to his own company, he then delivers the tablet with the signal, in the presence of some witnesses, to the leader of the cohort that is lodged next to his own. From him again, it passes to the following cohort; and, in the same manner, through all the rest in order, till it arrives at the first cohorts, which lie nearest to the tents of the tribunes; and from thence it is carried back again to the tribunes, while it is yet day. If all the tablets that were delivered are brought back, the tribune then perceives that the signal has passed through all the camp. But if any one be wanting, he immediately examines into the fact; and, having discerned by the inscriptions in what quarter the tablet has been stopped, inflicts a suitable punishment

upon those that have been the cause of that neglect.

The guards for the night are thus disposed. One entire company is always stationed round the consular tent. The tents of the tribunes, and the cavalry, are guarded by soldiers taken from each company, in the manner that has before been mentioned. Each separate company appoints a guard likewise for itself from its own body. The other guards are disposed as the consul directs. But the usual custom is, to allot three soldiers to the quæstor; and two to each of the members of the council. The external sides of the camp are guarded by the light-armed forces; who are distributed every day along the whole entrenchment. From the same body, ten men are also stationed before every gate that leads into the camp.

Among those that are appointed for the watch, one soldier from each guard, the same whose duty it is to take the first watch, is carried in the evening to the tribune, by one of the conductors of the rear of every company. The tribune, having given to all of them some small tablets of wood, inscribed with a certain character, and appropriated to each particular guard, dismisses them to their respective stations.

The care of making the rounds is intrusted to the cavalry. The captain of the first troop in each of the legions is bound to send his orders in the morn-

ing to one of the conductors of the rear; commanding him to appoint, before the time of dinner, four soldiers of the troop to go the rounds; and to send notice also afterwards, in the evening, to the leader of the second troop, that it is his turn to inspect the watch on the following day. The leader of the second troop gives notice, in like manner, for the third day; and the same method is observed through all the rest. The four soldiers, who are thus selected from the first troop by the conductor of the rear, having determined among themselves each particular watch by lot, go afterwards to the tent of the tribune, and receive from thence in writing an account of the several posts, and of the number of the guards, which they are required to visit. They then take their station near to the first company of the triarii. For the leader of this company has the care of marking the time of every watch by the sound of a trumpet. And when the signal is made, he, to whose inspection the first watch was allotted, taking with him some of his friends as witnesses, goes round to all the posts that are recited in his orders, and visits all the guards: not those alone that are stationed round the intrenchment, and before the gates, but those also that are placed in every single company and in every troop. If he finds the centinels awake and fixed in their several stations, he receives from them the wooden tablets. But if he dis-

covers that any one is sleeping, or has left his post, he desires those that are present to bear testimony to the fact, and then retires. The same method is observed in all the following watches. The care of sounding the trumpet, by which notice is given in the same moment both to the centinels and the inspectors of the watch, is left, as we have said, to the captains of the first company of the triarii, who perform this duty alternately, day by day.

As soon as morning appears, those who have made the rounds carry the tablets to the tribune. If they bring the full number back they are suffered to depart without any question. But if the number be less than that of the guards, the inscriptions are immediately examined, in order to discover from what particular guard the tablet has not been returned. When this is known, the centurion is ordered to attend and to bring with him the soldiers that were appointed for that guard; that they may be questioned face to face with him who made the rounds. If the fault be in the guard, he that made the rounds appeals at once to the testimony of his friends who were present. Such evidence always is demanded from him; and in case that he is not able to bring this proof the whole blame rests upon himself. The council is then assembled; the cause is judged by the tribune, and the guilty person sentenced to be bastinaded. This punishment is inflicted in the following manner.

The tribune, taking a stick into his hand, gently touches the criminal; and immediately afterwards all the soldiers of the legion attack him with sticks and stones; so that the greatest part of those that are thus condemned are destroyed immediately in the camp. If any one escapes, yet he is not saved. For all return into his country is shut against him: nor would any of his friends or kindred ever dare to receive him into their houses. Those, therefore, who have once fallen into this misfortune are lost without resource. The conductor of the rear, and the leader of the troops, if ever they neglect to give the necessary notice in due time, the first to the inspectors of the watch, and the second to the leader of the succeeding troop, are subject also to this punishment. From the dread of a discipline so severe, and which leaves no place for mercy, every thing that belongs to the guards of the night is performed with the exactest diligence and care.

The soldiers are subject to the control of the tribunes, as these are to that of the consuls. The tribunes have the power of imposing fines, and demanding sureties, and of punishing with stripes. The same authority is exercised by the prefects among the allies.

The punishment of the bastinade is inflicted also upon those who steal any thing in the camp; those who bear false testimony; who, in their youth, abuse their bodies; and who have been

three times convicted of one fault. These offences are punished as crimes. There are others that are regarded as the effects of cowardice, and disgraceful to the military character. When a soldier, for example, with a view of obtaining a reward, makes a report to the tribunes of some brave action which he has not performed. When any one, through fear, deserts his station, or throws away his arms in the time of an engagement. For hence it happens that many, through the dread of the allotted punishment, when they are attacked by much greater numbers, will even encounter manifest destruction, rather than desert that post which they had been ordered to maintain. Others again, when they have lost their shield, or sword, or any other part of their arms in the time of action, throw themselves precipitately into the very midst of the enemy; hoping either to recover what they have lost, or to avoid by death the reproaches of their fellow-soldiers, and the disgrace that is ready to receive them.

If it happens that many are at one time guilty of the same fault, and that whole companies retire before the enemy, and desert their station; instead of punishing all of them with death, an expedient is employed which is both useful and full of terror. The tribune, assembling together all the soldiers of the legion, commands the criminals to be brought forwards: and, having sharply reproached them with their cowardice,

he then draws out by lot either five, or eight, or twenty men, according to the number of those that have offended. For the proportion is usually so adjusted, that every tenth man is reserved for punishment. Those, who are thus separated from the rest by lot, are bastinaded without remission in the manner before described. The others are sentenced to be fed with barley instead of wheat; and are lodged without the intrenchment, exposed to insults from the enemy. As the danger, therefore, and the dread of death, hangs equally over all the guilty, because no one can foresee upon whom the lot will fall; and as the shame and infamy of receiving barley only for their support, is extended also alike to all; this institution is perfectly well contrived, both for impressing present terror, and for the prevention of future faults.

The method by which the young men are animated to brave all danger is also admirable. When an action has passed in which any of the soldiers have shown signal proofs of courage, the consul, assembling the troops together, commands those to approach who have distinguished themselves by any eminent exploit. And having first bestowed on every one of them apart the commendation that is due to this particular instance of their valour, and recounted likewise all their former actions that have ever merited applause, he then distributes among them the following rewards. To him who has wounded an

enemy, a javelin. To him who has killed an enemy, and stripped him of his armour, if he be a soldier in the infantry, a goblet; if in the cavalry, furniture for his horse; though, in former times, this last was presented only with a javelin. These rewards, however, are not bestowed upon the soldiers who, in a general battle, or in the attack of a city, wound or spoil an enemy; but upon those alone who, in separate skirmishes, and when any occasion offers, in which no necessity requires them to engage in single contest, throw themselves voluntarily into danger, and with design provoke the combat. When a city is taken by storm, those who mount first upon the walls are honoured with a golden crown. Those also who have saved the lives of any of the citizens, or the allies, by covering them from the enemy in the time of battle, receive presents from the consul, and are crowned likewise by the persons themselves who have been thus preserved, and who, if they refuse this office, are compelled by the judgement of the tribunes to perform it. Add to this, that those who are thus saved are bound, during the remainder of their lives, to reverence their preserver as a father, and to render to him all the duties which they would pay to him who gave them birth. Nor are the effects of these rewards, in raising a spirit of emulation and of courage, confined to those alone who are present in the army, but extended likewise to all the citizens at home. For those who

have obtained those presents, beside the honour which they acquire among their fellow-soldiers, and the reputation which immediately attends them in their country, are distinguished after their return, by wearing in all solemn processions such ornaments as are permitted only to be worn by those who have received them from the consuls as the rewards of their valour. They hang up likewise in the most conspicuous parts of their houses the spoils which they have taken, as a monument and evidence of their exploits. Since such, therefore, is the attention and the care with which the Romans distribute rewards and punishments in their armies, it is not to be thought strange that the wars in which they engage are always ended with glory and success.

The military stipends are thus regulated. The pay of a soldier in the infantry is two oboli by the day; and double to the centurions. The pay of the cavalry is a drachma. The allowance of corn to each man in the infantry consists of about two third parts of an Attic bushel of wheat by the month. In the cavalry, it is seven bushels of barley, and two of wheat. To the infantry of the allies the same quantity is distributed as to that of the Romans; but their cavalry receives only one bushel and a third of wheat, and five of barley. The whole of this allowance is given without reserve to the allies. But the Roman soldiers are obliged to purchase their corn and clothes, together with the arms which they

occasionally want, at a certain stated price, which is deducted by the quæstor from their pay.

In breaking up the camp the following order is observed. When the first signal is made, the soldiers all take down the tents, and collect the baggage. No tent, however, is at any time either set up or taken down until those of the consul and the tribunes are first set up, or first removed. Upon the second signal the baggage is placed upon the beasts of burthen; and at the third, the foremost of the troops begin their march, and the whole camp is put in motion. In the van are usually placed the extraordinaries; and after these the right wing of the allies, which is followed by the baggage of both these bodies. Next to these marches the first of the Roman legions, with its baggage also behind it. The second legion follows; having behind it likewise both its own baggage, and the baggage of the allies, who are in the rear; for the rear of all the march is closed with the left wing of the allies. The cavalry marches sometimes in the rear of the respective bodies to which it belongs; and sometimes on the flanks of the beasts that are loaded with the baggage; keeping them together in due order, and covering them from insult. When any attack is expected to be made upon the rear, the extraordinaries of the allies, instead of leading the van, are posted in the rear. In all the other parts the disposition remains the same. Of the

two legions, and the two wings of the allies, those that are on one day foremost in the march, on the following day are placed behind; that, by thus changing their rank alternately all the troops may obtain the same advantage in their turn, of arriving first at water and at forage. There is also another disposition which is used when any immediate danger threatens, and the march is made through an open country. At such times, the hastati, the principes, and the triarii, are ranged in three parallel lines, each behind the other, with the baggage of the hastati in the front. Behind the hastati is placed the baggage of the principes, who are followed likewise by that of the triarii; so that the baggage, and the several bodies are mingled in alternate order. The march being thus disposed, the troops, as soon as any attack is made, turning either to the left or to the right, advance forwards from the baggage towards that side upon which the enemy appears. And thus, in a moment of time, and by one single movement, the whole army is formed at once in order of battle; except only that the hastati are perhaps obliged to make an evolution; and the beasts of burthen also, with all those that attend upon the baggage, being now thrown into the rear of all the troops, are covered by them from all danger.

At the end of a march, when the army arrives near the place of their encampment, a tribune and some centurions, who are appointed always

for this purpose, advance before the rest. And having surveyed the whole ground upon which the encampment is to be made, they first determine the place of the consular tent, aud on which side of it the legions may most commodiously be lodged. When this is done they measure out the space that is allotted for the consul; and then draw a line for the place of the tents of the tribunes; and parallel to it another line, below which the legions are to be encamped. In the same manner also the several portions of the ground, which lies on the other side of the consular tent, and which we have already particularly described, are ascertained by lines. And as the distances are fixed, and well known by use, the admeasurement of the whole is easy, and soon completed. Four ensigns are then planted in the ground, the first in the place in which the tent of the consul is to be set up; the second, on that side of the consular ground which has been chosen for the front of the camp; the third in the middle of the line that is designed for the tents of the tribunes; and the last upon the other parallel line below which the legions are to be encamped. These ensigns are all of a purple colour; that of the consul excepted, which is white. The portions on the other side of the consular ground are sometimes marked by simple pikes fixed in the ground, and sometimes by ensigns of some different colour. Last of all, the several streets are drawn out by measure,

and pikes also planted to denote the limits of each particular street. The necessary effect of this method is, that when the troops upon their march approach so near as to discover the place of their encampment, they are able to discern at once all the different parts of the camp; being taught by the ensign of the consul to point out and distinguish all the rest. And as they all occupy the same place always in the camp, so that each man knows in what particular street, and in what part also of the street he is going to be lodged, their entrance very much resembles that of a body of soldiers into their own native city. For as these, already knowing, both in general and in particular, the quarters of the city in which their habitations stand, turn aside immediately from the gates, and arrive at their several houses without mistake; just so it happens in the Roman camp. It is to this facility indeed that the Romans chiefly attend upon such occasions; and, for the sake of obtaining it, pursue so contrary a method to that of the Greeks. For the Greeks, when they encamp, consider principally the natural strength of the place that is chosen, and accommodate their disposition to it; being partly studious to avoid the labour of throwing up an intrenchment; and partly persuaded also, that fortifications raised by art are always less secure than those that are made by nature. In compliance, therefore, with what the nature of the ground demands, they not

only are obliged to give every kind of figure to their camp, but to vary also the position of the several parts, as the place for each is favourable or improper. And from hence it happens that the soldier never knows with certainty either his own place in the camp, or that of the body to which he belongs. But the Romans willingly submit to the task of making an intrenchment, and to other painful works, for the sake of the advantage that is found, in employing a method which is never changed, and which renders all the parts of the camp familiar to the army.

Such then in general are the institutions of the Romans, which belong to the establishment of their armies, and more especially to the manner of their encampment.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

Some peculiar excellencies in the Roman government and manners, illustrated by a comparison of them with those of other states.

CHAP. I.

THE states, which almost all writers have transmitted to us with applause, are those of Lacedæmon, Mantinea, Crete, and Carthage. To these some have also added the governments of Thebes and Athens. With regard to the first it may be allowed, perhaps, that they merit some distinction. But the republics of Thebes and Athens very little deserve, in my opinion, to be made the subject of any particular discourse; because they neither rose by natural steps to greatness, nor remained for any long continuance in a prosperous state; nor sunk again by a gradual decline. But having owed all their exaltation merely to some favourable seasons, and borrowed a kind of transient splendour from the times, in that very moment which saw them flourish, and which seemed to promise a lasting confirmation

of their power, they were thrown back again by fortune into a contrary state. Thus the Thebans, having applied to their own advantage the imprudent conduct of the Lacedæmonians, and the hatred in which they were held by their allies, acquired, indeed, through the ability of one or two of their citizens who discerned these circumstances, the reputation of superiority among the Greeks. But that the success which they at this time gained, arose not from the constitution of their government, but from the skill of those who governed, the ill fortune that followed close behind rendered clear and incontestable. For as the power of Thebes grew up and flourished with the lives of Epaminondas and Pelopidas, and, when they died, was immediately dissolved; there needs no farther proof that the splendour which then accrued to the republic was derived wholly from the virtue of these citizens, and not from any excellence in the state. The same observation may be applied as justly to the commonwealth of Athens, which flourished indeed at many other particular seasons; but having been raised by the able conduct of Themistocles to the greatest height of glory, within a short time afterwards was sunk again in weakness and disgrace. The cause of this sudden change was no other than the irregular constitution of the government. For the Athenian state may very aptly be compared to a ship in which there is no person that commands. In such a vessel, when

the mariners, either through the dread of enemies, or the impending dangers of a storm, are compelled to act together in concert, and attend to the orders of the pilot, all things that are necessary are performed by them with diligence and skill. But no sooner are these apprehensions past than they begin to reject all control, and engage in mutual contest, such as the diversity of their sentiments inspires. And while some among them are earnest for continuing their course, and others not less urgent with the pilot to cast anchor; while the first unfurl the sails, and the latter interpose with violence, and command them to be furled; this spirit of contention and seditious obstinacy not only affords a shameful spectacle to those that behold it at a distance, but renders the safety likewise of all who are embarked in the vessel so precarious, that very frequently, when they have escaped the dangers of the greatest seas and most dreadful tempests, they are at last wrecked even in the harbour, and when they have just gained the land. In the same manner the Athenian state, after having been conducted, by the virtue of the governors and the people through all the difficulties of the most threatening seasons, has often unaccountably been overset in times of perfect safety and tranquillity. There is no need, therefore, to say more concerning this republic, or that of Thebes; in both of which the multitude disposes all things, as the impulse of their own peculiar passions

prompts them: the people in the one, being naturally precipitate and eager above the rest of men; and in the other, trained up to habits of force and violence.

Let us pass on then to the government of Crete; and consider upon what grounds it is that the most sensible of the ancient writers, such as Ephorus, Xenophon, Callisthenes, and Plato, have ventured to affirm; first, that the frame of this republic very much resembles, or rather is the same with that of Sparta; and secondly, that the constitution itself is such as deserves to be applauded. In my judgement, their opinion with respect to both these points is very distant from the truth. Whether it be or not, the following observations may enable us to determine. And first, concerning the little resemblance that is to be found between these two states.

There are three things mentioned by these writers as distinguishing the Spartan government. The first is the equality of possessions in land; of which no one is permitted to obtain a greater portion than another; the whole lands that belong to the community being divided in equal shares among all the citizens. The second is the neglect of wealth that prevails among this people. That even the use of money is unknown among them; and that, by consequence, the very root of that contention which springs from the possession of less and more, is utterly destroyed. In the last place, as they affirm, the kings

of Lacedæmon enjoy a perpetual and hereditary sovereignty; and the senators, with whose participation, and by whose advice, the entire administration of affairs is regulated, hold their dignity during life. Now in all these points the government of Crete is contrary to that of Sparta. For the Cretans are permitted by their laws to possess, without any bounds, as large a property in land as they are able to obtain. The estimation also of money is so great among them that it is not only necessary, but even highly honourable, to acquire it. And indeed the desire of amassing wealth, and the habit of increasing it, are so deeply implanted in the very manners of this people, that they alone of all mankind think nothing sordid or dishonourable that is joined with gain. Lastly, in this island, all the public offices are renewed every year; and are constituted in a manner purely democratical. I have often, therefore, been led to wonder that states which differ so essentially should be thus joined together by these writers, as if they were of a similar kind and nature. But it is not only to be imputed to them that they have barely overlooked this difference. For when they have employed great pains to show that Lycurgus alone, of all mankind, discerned the means that were most proper to give stability to government; that as every state can only be maintained by bravery in war, and union among the citizens, this legislator, when he took away from his republic the

desire of riches, removed also with it all civil tumult and dissension, and that the Lacedæmonians, being thus freed from these domestic evils, lived together in perfect concord, and preserved such order in their government, as was not to be found in any of the states of Greece; when they have discoursed, I say, at large on all these circumstances, and seen also, on the other hand, that the natural lust of wealth which prevails among the Cretans gives birth continually both to private contests, and to public dissensions and divisions; produces murders and intestine wars; yet still, as if a difference so acknowledged were of small importance, they boldly venture to affirm, that there is a close resemblance between the two republics. And indeed Ephorus, when he treats of either of them, employs indiscriminately the same expressions, the proper names alone excepted; so that, unless we attend to these, it is not possible to distinguish which of the two is designed by his discourse. Such, then, is the difference between the government of Crete and that of Sparta. I shall now endeavour to show that the first is neither worthy of applause nor imitation.

There are two things which are essential parts in every government, and according to which the principles and constitution of the state itself, will be found to deserve either praise or censure. These are, the manners and the laws. The manners and the laws that are most worthy to be ap-

proved, are those which form the lives of individuals to sanctity and moderation, and the general temper of the whole community to mildness and to justice; and those which produce contrary effects are fit to be rejected. When we perceive, therefore, that the laws and manners of a state are such as tend to promote the exercise of honesty and virtue, as it is very reasonable for us to conclude that the state itself is virtuous, and the members of it free from all reproach; so, on the other hand, when an immoderate desire of gain governs the life of every private citizen, and the public transactions of the state are contrary to justice, we may safely venture to declare that the laws of this community are bad, the manners of the people corrupt and vicious, and the whole government contemptible. Now if we consider the character and conduct of the Cretans, it is certain that scarcely an example can be found of any nation in which the private manners of the citizens are more replete with artifice and fraud; or where the public enterprises are more unjust. As this republic, therefore, neither bears any resemblance to that of Sparta, nor deserves in any manner to be approved or imitated, we shall here reject it, as unworthy of our notice in that comparison which we propose.

Nor is it reasonable to expect, that we should allow any place in this inquiry to the commonwealth of Plato; how much soever it may have been celebrated by some philosophers. For, as

in the contests between artists, or combatants, in the public games, no persons are admitted who have not first been trained in proper discipline, and prepared by exercise; so neither can this republic hope to be received into any competition concerning excellence, till it has first shown its strength in some real action. To compare it, such as it has hitherto remained, with the republics of Sparta, Rome, and Carthage, would be no less absurd than to compare a statue with a breathing and living man. For though the beauty of the work might deserve perhaps the highest commendation, yet the comparison of an inanimate form with an animated being would very justly appear defective and incongruous to every eye. Leaving, therefore, this republic and that of Crete, let us return again to the government of Sparta.

When I consider the laws that were invented by Lycurgus, as tending to promote union among the citizens, to secure the Laconian territory from all danger, and to maintain his people in the undisturbed enjoyment of their liberty, they appear to have been so wisely framed, and adapted with such true foresight to all these purposes, that I am almost tempted to regard them, rather as the work of some divinity than the effort of any human mind. In establishing an equality of possessions, and in restraining all the citizens to the constant use of one simple and common diet, he chose the means that were most effectual to

render the Lacedæmonians moderate in their desires, and to banish all contention from the state. By accustoming them to painful labours, and dangerous exercises, he formed them to be brave and daring. And where temperance and fortitude meet together, in any man, or in any community of men, it is scarcely possible that those, who are habituated to the practice of these virtues, should ever be disturbed by intestine evils, or be subdued by external force. Lycurgus, therefore, having thus raised the frame of his republic upon these two principles, secured all Laconia against the dread of any hostile attempts, and established the liberty of Sparta upon such strong foundations that it subsisted during many ages. But it appears to me that this legislator, both in the frame of his particular laws, and in the general constitution of the government, wholly overlooked one great precaution; the precaution that was necessary to restrain his people from invading the territory of their neighbours, from aspiring to an extended sovereignty, or raising themselves in any manner to be the arbiters of all affairs. As the particular members of the state were accustomed by his institutions to live in the simplest and most frugal manner, and to remain satisfied with their own possessions, it was also no less requisite, either to infuse into the whole community the same willing spirit of contentedness and moderation, or to force them through necessity to adopt it. But

Lycurgus, while he freed his citizens from jealousy and envious competition in their private manners, and in the administration of their own particular government, at the same time allowed full scope to their ambitious projects against the rest of Greece, and suffered them to become most eager and aspiring in the pursuit both of wealth and power. For who is ignorant that the Lacedæmonians, the first almost of all the Greeks, were led by the desire of gain to invade the territory of their neighbours, and declared war against the Messenians, with design to reduce them into slavery? Who has not heard, that, when they had invested Messene with their forces they persisted in the attempt with so great obstinacy that they bound themselves by an oath never to raise the siege till the city should be taken? Nor is it less notorious to all mankind that, with a view of establishing their own dominion over the Grecian states, they submitted to obey the orders even of a people whom they had conquered. For after having bravely maintained the cause of the common liberty of all the Greeks, and subdued the Persians who brought an army to invade it; after having defeated and forced them to return, they basely yielded to them many cities by the peace that was concluded by Antalcidas; that they might obtain in return the treasure that was necessary for acquiring to themselves the sovereignty of Greece. Upon this occasion it was that they first perceived in what part their

government was defective. For as long as they confined their views of conquest to the neighbouring states, and to the limits of Peloponnesus, they were able to draw from Laconia itself such supplies as were sufficient for the accomplishment of their designs; as all things that were necessary were collected within their reach; and as the distance was commodious for their return back again to their country, and for transporting all their stores. But when they attempted to maintain fleets upon the sea, and to send their armies beyond the bounds of Peloponnesus, it very soon was seen that neither their iron money, nor the exchange of their own natural commodities that was permitted by Lycurgus, was capable of supplying all their wants; but that money of a common currency, and stores drawn from foreign countries, were necessary to support such enterprises. They were forced, therefore, to supplicate assistance from the court of Persia; to impose a tribute upon the islands; and to exact contributions from all the Greeks; being fully assured that, while they adhered to the institutions of Lycurgus, they could never hope to obtain the supreme command in Greece, nor be able even in any manner to contend for superiority with other states. But to what purpose is this digression? It is to show by the evidence of facts that the laws of Lycurgus were perfectly well contrived, for maintaining his people in the undisturbed possession of their own proper terri-

tory, and for preserving their liberty inviolable; and that, where men propose to themselves these advantages as the sole objects of political institutions, it must be acknowledged that there neither is, nor ever was, any system or frame of government more eligible than that of Sparta. But if a people, on the other hand, should desire to enlarge their views, and esteem it more great and glorious to hold many in subjection, to extend their empire over various countries, and to draw the submission of all mankind towards them; it must then also be confessed, that the Lacedæmonian constitution is defective; and that the Roman government is framed with greater strength for the accomplishment of such designs. The truth of this remark is manifest from that which happened in the two republics. For the Lacedæmonians no sooner endeavoured to obtain the sovereignty of Greece than they brought their own liberty into danger. But the Romans, having once subdued to their dominion all the parts of Italy, reduced, within a short time afterwards, the whole world beneath their yoke; being greatly assisted in the execution of this vast attempt by the plenty of all necessary stores, and the facility with which they were continually supplied.

CHAP. II.

THE government of Carthage seems also to have been originally well contrived with regard to those general forms that have been mentioned. For there were kings in this government, together with a senate, which was vested with aristocratical authority. The people likewise enjoy the exercise of certain powers that were appropriated to them. In a word, the entire frame of the republic very much resembled those of Rome and Sparta. But at the time of the war of Annibal the Carthaginian constitution was worse in its condition than the Roman. For as nature has assigned to every body, every government, and every action, three successive periods; the first, of growth; the second, of perfection; and that which follows, of decay; and as the period of perfection is the time in which they severally display their greatest strength; from hence arose the difference that was then found between the two republics. For the government of Carthage having reached the highest point of vigour and perfection much sooner than that of Rome, had now declined from it in the same proportion: whereas the Romans, at this very time, had just raised their constitution to the most flourishing and perfect state. The effect of this difference was, that among

the Carthaginians the people possessed the greatest sway in all deliberations, but the senate among the Romans. And as, in the one republic, all measures were determined by the multitude; and, in the other, by the most eminent citizens; of so great force was this advantage in the conduct of affairs, that the Romans, though brought by repeated losses into the greatest danger, became, through the wisdom of their counsels, superior to the Carthaginians in the war.

If we descend to a more particular comparison, we shall find, that with respect to military science, for example, the Carthaginians, in the management and conduct of a naval war, are more skilful than the Romans. For the Carthaginians have derived this knowledge from their ancestors through a long course of ages; and are more exercised in maritime affairs than any other people. But the Romans, on the other hand, are far superior in all things that belong to the establishment and discipline of armies. For this discipline, which is regarded by them as the chief and constant object of their care, is utterly neglected by the Carthaginians; except only that they bestow some little attention upon their cavalry. The reason of this difference is, that the Carthaginians employ foreign mercenaries; and that on the contrary the Roman armies are composed of citizens, and of the people of the country.

Now in this respect the government of Rome is greatly preferable to that of Carthage. For while the Carthaginians intrust the preservation of their liberty to the care of venal troops; the Romans place all their confidence in their own bravery, and in the assistance of their allies. From hence it happens, that the Romans, though at first defeated, are always able to renew the war; and that the Carthaginian armies never are repaired without great difficulty. Add to this, that the Romans, fighting for their country and their children, never suffer their ardour to be slackened; but persist with the same steady spirit till they become superior to their enemies. From hence it happens, likewise, that even in actions upon the sea, the Romans, though inferior to the Carthaginians, as we have already observed, in naval knowledge and experience, very frequently obtain success through the mere bravery of their forces. For though in all such contests a skill in maritime affairs must be allowed to be of the greatest use; yet, on the other hand, the valour of the troops that are engaged is no less effectual to draw the victory to their side.

Now the people of Italy are by nature superior to the Carthaginians and the Africans, both in bodily strength, and in courage. Add to this, that they have among them certain institutions by which the young men are greatly animated to perform acts of bravery. It will be

sufficient to mention one of these, as a proof of the attention that is shown by the Roman government, to infuse such a spirit into the citizens as shall lead them to encounter every kind of danger for the sake of obtaining reputation in their country. When any illustrious person dies, he is carried in procession with the rest of the funeral pomp, to the rostra in the forum; sometimes placed conspicuous in an upright posture; and sometimes, though less frequently, reclined. And while the people are all standing round, his son, if he has left one of sufficient age, and who is then at Rome, or, if otherwise, some person of his kindred, ascends the rostra, and extols the virtues of the deceased, and the great deeds that were performed by him in his life. By this discourse, which recalls his past actions to remembrance, and places them in open view before all the multitude, not those alone who were sharers in his victories, but even the rest who bore no part in his exploits, are moved to such sympathy of sorrow, that the accident seems rather to be a public misfortune, than a private loss. He is then buried with the usual rites; and afterwards an image, which both in features and complexion expresses an exact resemblance of his face, is set up in the most conspicuous part of the house, enclosed in a shrine of wood. Upon solemn festivals, these images are uncovered, and adorned with the greatest care. And when any other person of

the same family dies, they are carried also in the funeral procession, with a body added to the bust, that the representation may be just, even with regard to size. They are dressed likewise in the habits, that belong to the ranks which they severally filled when they were alive. If they were consuls or prætors, in a gown bordered with purple: if censors, in a purple robe: and if they triumphed, or obtained any similar honour, in a vest embroidered with gold. Thus apparelled, they are drawn along in chariots preceded by the rods and axes, and other ensigns of their former dignity. And when they arrive at the forum, they are all seated upon chairs of ivory; and there exhibit the noblest object that can be offered to a youthful mind, warmed with the love of virtue and of glory. For who can behold without emotion the forms of so many illustrious men, thus living, as it were, and breathing together in his presence? Or what spectacle can be conceived more great and striking? The person also that is appointed to harangue, when he has exhausted all the praises of the deceased, turns his discourse to the rest, whose images are before him; and, beginning with the most ancient of them, recounts the fortunes and the exploits of every one in turn. By this method, which renews continually the remembrance of men celebrated for their virtue, the fame of every great and noble action becomes immortal; and the glory

of those, by whose services their country has been benefited, is rendered familiar to the people, and delivered down to future times. But the chief advantage is, that by the hope of obtaining this honourable fame, which is reserved for virtue, the young men are animated to sustain all danger, in the cause of the common safety. For from hence it has happened, that many among the Romans have voluntarily engaged in single combat, in order to decide the fortune of an entire war. Many also have devoted themselves to inevitable death: some of them in battle, to save the lives of other citizens; and some in time of peace, to rescue the whole state from destruction. Others again, who have been invested with the highest dignities, have, in defiance of all law and custom, condemned their own sons to die; showing greater regard to the advantage of their country, than to the bonds of nature, and the closest ties of kindred. Very frequent are the examples of this kind, that are recorded in the Roman story. I shall here mention one, as a signal instance, and proof of the truth of all that I have affirmed. Horatius, surnamed Cocles, being engaged in combat with two enemies, at the farthest extremity of the bridge that led into Rome across the Tiber, and perceiving that many others were advancing fast to their assistance, was apprehensive that they would force their way together into the city. Turning himself there-

fore to his companions that were behind him, he called to them aloud, that they should immediately retire and break the bridge. While they were employed in this work, Horatius, though covered over with wounds, still maintained his post, and stopped the progress of the enemies; who were struck with his firmness and intrepid courage, even more than with the strength of his resistance. And when the bridge was broken, and the city secured from insult, he threw himself into the river with his armour, and there lost his life as he had designed: having preferred the safety of his country, and the future fame that was sure to follow such an action, to his own present existence, and to the time that remained for him to live. Such is the spirit, and such the emulation of achieving glorious actions, which the Roman institutions are fitted to infuse into the minds of youth.

In all things that regard the acquisition of wealth, the manners also, and the customs of the Romans, are greatly preferable to those of the Carthaginians. Among the latter, nothing is reputed infamous, that is joined with gain. But among the former, nothing is held more base than to be corrupted by gifts, or to covet an increase of wealth by means that are unjust. For as much as they esteem the possession of honest riches to be fair and honourable, so much, on the other hand, all those that are

amassed by unlawful arts, are viewed by them with horror and reproach. The truth of this fact is clearly seen in the following instance. Among the Carthaginians, money is openly employed to obtain the dignities of the state: but all such proceeding is a capital crime in Rome. As the rewards, therefore, that are proposed to virtue in the two republics are so different, it cannot but happen, that the attention of the citizens to form their minds to virtuous actions must be also different.

But among all the useful institutions, that demonstrate the superior excellence of the Roman government, the most considerable perhaps is the opinion which the people are taught to hold concerning the gods: and that, which other men regard as an object of disgrace, appears in my judgement to be the very thing by which this republic chiefly is sustained. I mean, superstition: which is impressed with all its terrors; and influences both the private actions of the citizens, and the public administration also of the state, in a degree that can scarcely be exceeded. This may appear astonishing to many. To me it is evident, that this contrivance was at first adopted for the sake of the multitude. For if it were possible that a state could be composed of wise men only, there would be no need perhaps of any such invention. But as the people universally are fickle and inconstant, filled with irregular de-

sires, precipitate in their passions, and prone to violence; there is no way left to restrain them, but by the dread of things unseen, and by the pageantry of terrifying fiction. The ancients therefore acted not absurdly, nor without good reason, when they inculcated the notions concerning the gods, and the belief of infernal punishments; but much more those of the present age are to be charged with rashness and absurdity, in endeavouring to extirpate these opinions. For, not to mention other effects that flow from such an institution; if, among the Greeks for example, a single talent only be intrusted to those who have the management of any of the public money; though they give ten written sureties, with as many seals, and twice as many witnesses, they are unable to discharge the trust reposed in them with integrity. But the Romans, on the other hand, who in the course of their magistracies, and in embassies, disburse the greatest sums, are prevailed on by the single obligation of an oath, to perform their duty with inviolable honesty. And as, in other states, a man is rarely to be found whose hands are pure from public robbery; so, among the Romans, it is no less rare to discover one that is tainted with this crime.

But all things are subject to decay and change. This is a truth so evident, and so demonstrated by the perpetual and the necessary course of nature, that it needs no other

proof. Now there are two ways by which every kind of government is destroyed; either by some accident that happens from without, or some evil that arises within itself. What the first will be is not always easy to foresee: but the latter is certain and determinate. We have already shown what are the original and what the secondary forms of government; and in what manner also they are reciprocally converted each into the other. Whoever, therefore, is able to connect the beginning with the end in this inquiry will be able also to declare with some assurance, what will be the future fortune of the Roman government. At least in my judgement nothing is more easy. For when a state, after having passed with safety through many and great dangers, arrives at the highest degree of power, and possesses an entire and undisputed sovereignty; it is manifest that the long continuance of prosperity must give birth to costly and luxurious manners, and that the minds of men will be heated with ambitious contests, and become too eager and aspiring in the pursuit of dignities. And as these evils are continually increased, the desire of power and rule, and the imagined ignominy of remaining in a subject state, will first begin to work the ruin of the republic; arrogance and luxury will afterwards advance it: and in the end the change will be completed by the people; when the avarice of some is found to injure

and oppress them, and the ambition of others swells their vanity, and poisons them with flattering hopes. For then, being inflamed with rage, and following only the dictates of their passions, they no longer will submit to any control, or be contented with an equal share of the administration, in conjunction with their rulers; but will draw to themselves the entire sovereignty and supreme direction of all affairs. When this is done, the government will assume indeed the fairest of all names, that of a free and popular state; but will in truth be the greatest of all evils, the government of the multitude.

As we have thus sufficiently explained the constitution and the growth of the Roman government; have marked the causes of that greatness in which it now subsists; and shown by comparison, in what view it may be judged inferior, and in what superior, to other states; we shall here close this discourse. But as every skilful artist offers some piece of work to public view, as a proof of his abilities: in the same manner, we also, taking some part of history that is connected with the times from which we were led into this digression, and making a short recital of one single action, shall endeavour to demonstrate by fact as well as words what was the strength, and how great the vigour, which at that time were displayed by this republic.

When Annibal, after the battle of Cannæ, had taken prisoners eight thousand of the Romans, who were left to guard the camp; he permitted them to send a deputation to Rome, to treat of their ransom and redemption. Ten persons, the most illustrious that were among them, were appointed for this purpose: and the general, having first commanded them to swear that they would return to him again, suffered them to depart. But one of the number, as soon as they had passed the intrenchment, having said that he had forgotten something, went back into the camp, took what he had left, and then continued his journey with the rest; persuading himself that by this return he had discharged his promise, and satisfied the obligation of the oath. When they arrived at Rome, they earnestly entreated the senate not to envy them the safety that was offered; but to suffer them to be restored again to their several families, at the price of three minæ for each prisoner, which was the sum that Annibal demanded; that they were not unworthy of this favour; that they neither had through cowardice deserted their post in battle, nor done any thing that had brought dishonour upon the Roman name; but that having been left to guard the camp, they had been thrown by unavoidable necessity, after the destruction of all the rest of the army, into the power of the enemy. The Romans were at this time weakened by repeated

losses; were deserted by almost every one of their allies; and seemed even to expect that Rome itself would instantly be attacked; yet when they had heard the deputies, they neither were deterred by adverse fortune from attending to what was fit and right, nor neglected any of those measures that were necessary to the public safety. But perceiving that the design of Annibal, in this proceeding, was both to acquire a large supply of money, and at the same time to check the ardour of his enemies in battle, by opening to their view the means of safety even though they should be conquered, they were so far from yielding to this request, that they showed no regard either to the distressed condition of their fellow-citizens, or to the services that might be expected from the prisoners: but resolved to disappoint the hopes, and frustrate the intentions of this general, by rejecting all terms of ransom. They made a law also, by which it was declared that the soldiers that were left must either conquer or must die: and that no other hope of safety was reserved for them, in case that they were conquered. After this determination they dismissed the nine deputies, who on account of their oath were willing to return, and taking the other, who had endeavoured to elude by sophistry what he had sworn, they sent him back bound to the enemy; so that Annibal was much less filled with joy from having vanquished the Romans

in the field, than he was struck with terror and astonishment, at the firmness and the magnanimity that appeared in their deliberations.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

EXTRACT THE FIRST.

Leontium in Sicily described.

THE city Leontium, considered in its general position is turned towards the north. Through the middle of it runs a level valley, which contains the public buildings allotted to the administration of government and of justice; and in a word, the whole that is called the forum. The two sides of the valley are enclosed by two hills, which are rough and broken along the whole extent. But the summit of these hills, above the brows, is flat and plain, and is covered with temples and with houses. There are two gates to the city. One of them is in the southern extremity of the valley, and conducts to Syracuse. The other is on the opposite side, and leads to those lands so famed for their fertility, and which are called the Leontine fields. Below the hill that stands on the western side of the valley flows the river Lissus: and on the same side, likewise, there is a row of houses, built under the very precipice, and in a line parallel to the river. Between these houses and the river, lies the road which has been mentioned.

EXTRACT THE SECOND.

The treaty that was concluded between Annibal, general of the Carthaginians, and Xenophanes, ambassador from Philip.

THE solemn treaty which Annibal the general, Mago, Myrcan, Barmocar, and all the senators of Carthage that were with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have concluded with Xenophanes, the son of Cleomachus, the ambassador deputed by king Philip, the son of Demetrius, in his own name, and in the name of the Macedonians and their allies.

In the presence of Jupiter, Juno, and Apollo; in the presence of the deity of the Carthaginians, and of Hercules and Iolaus; in the presence of Mars, Triton, and Neptune; in the presence of all the gods who are with us in the camp, and of the sun, the moon, and the earth; in the presence of the rivers, the lakes, and the waters; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the state of Carthage; in the presence of all the gods who preside over the Macedonian empire, and the rest of Greece; in the presence of all the gods, who direct the affairs of war, and who are present at this treaty;

Annibal the general, and all the senators of Carthage that are with him, and all the Carthaginians that are in the army with him, have said.

With the consent of you and of us, this treaty of amity and concord shall connect us together, as friends, as kindred, and as brothers, upon the following conditions:

King Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with them, shall protect the lords of Carthage; Annibal the general, and those that are with him; the governors in every place in which the laws of Carthage are observed; the people of Utica, and all the cities and nations that are subject to the Carthaginian sway; together with their armies and their allies; the cities likewise, and all the people with whom we are allied, in Italy, in Gaul, and in Liguria; and all those that shall hereafter enter into an alliance with us in those countries. The Carthaginians, on the other hand, the people of Utica, and all other cities and states that are subject to the Carthaginians, with their allies and armies; the cities also, and all the people of Italy, of Gaul, and of Liguria, that are at this time in alliance with us; and all others likewise that shall hereafter be received into our alliance in any of those parts of Italy; shall protect and defend king Philip and the Macedonians, together with the rest of the Greeks that are in alliance with

them. We will not engage in any ill designs, or employ any kind of treachery, the one against the other. But with all alacrity and willingness, without any deceit or fraud, you, the Macedonians, shall declare yourselves the enemies of those that are enemies of the Carthaginians; those kings alone excepted, and those ports and cities, with which you are connected by any treaty. And we also, on the other hand, will be the enemies of those that are enemies of king Philip; those kings and cities, and nations alone excepted, to which we are already bound by treaty. You shall be partners also with us in the war, in which we are now engaged against the Romans; till the gods give to you and to us a happy termination of it. You shall supply us with the assistance that is requisite, and in the manner that shall be stipulated between us. And if the gods, refusing success to our endeavours in the war against the Romans and their allies, should dispose us to enter into treaty with them; we shall insist, that you also be included in the treaty, and that the peace be made upon these expressed conditions: that the Romans shall at no time make war against you: that they shall not remain masters of the Corcyreans, nor of the people of Apollonia, Epidamnus, Pharos, and Dimalus; nor of the Parthinians, and the Atintanians: and that they shall restore also to Demetrius of Pharos all the persons of his kindred, who are now detained in

public custody at Rome. If the Romans shall afterwards make war either against you or us, we will mutually send such assistance as shall be requisite to either party. The same thing also will we perform, if any other power shall declare war against us; those kings, and cities, and states alone excepted, with which we are allied by treaty. If at any time it should be judged expedient to add to the present treaty, or to detract from it, it shall be done with mutual consent.

EXTRACT THE THIRD.

Demetrius of Pharos advises Philip to place a garrison in Ithome. The different sentiments of Aratus.

WHEN the entrails of the victims that have been sacrificed were brought, as the custom was, to Philip, he took them in his hands, and inclining to one side, and showing them to Aratus, asked him, what he thought was signified by them: that he should relinquish the citadel, or that he should keep possession of it? In the very instant, Demetrius seized the occasion to reply. "If you have the soul of a diviner in you," said he, "you will relinquish it without delay. But if you have the spirit of a king who understands affairs, you will keep possession of it: that you may not, if the present opportunity be lost, wish in vain hereafter to obtain another. For, it is only by holding both the horns, that you can hope to keep the bull in subjection to you." By the horns he designed to signify the two fortresses of Ithome and Acrocorinthus; and Peloponnesus by the bull. But Philip, turning to Aratus, said, "And is this also your advice?" And when the other hesitated, he pressed him to declare his sentiments. Aratus,

then, after a short silence, made this reply. "If you can retain possession of this citadel, without breaking that faith by which you are bound to the Messenians, keep it. But if, by leaving a garrison in this place, you relinquish that which stands in the stead of all citadels and garrisons, that which Antigonus transmitted to you, and which has hitherto preserved your allies; I mean good faith; consider whether it will not now be better to draw away your forces from Ithome, and, leaving there your faith, secure to yourself by that garrison alone the fidelity of the Messenians, and of all the rest of the allies." Philip, if he had followed his own natural inclination, would have been ready enough to have violated his faith: as we may judge from the subsequent actions of his life. But as he had been sharply reproved not long before by the younger Aratus, for having ordered some citizens to be put to death; and as the elder Aratus at this time addressed him with great authority as well as freedom; and besought him not to disregard the advice that he had offered; he was prevailed on to desist; and taking Aratus by the hand, "Let us return then," said he, "by the way by which we came."

EXTRACT THE FOURTH.

Antiochus renders himself master of Sardes, by the contrivance of Lagoras of Crete.

ROUND the city of Sardes sharp skirmishes passed continually; and little battles both by night and by day, without any intermission. For every method of surprise, and every art, both of attack and of defence, were practised by both parties. To enter into a particular description of all that was transacted, would be both useless and altogether tedious. But when the siege had now continued to the second year, it was at last ended by the contrivance of Lagoras, a Cretan. This man, who had gained a long experience in the affairs of war, had remarked that the strongest places very frequently become the easiest prey, through the too great security of the inhabitants; who repose such confidence either on the natural strength of their cities, or on the works by which they are covered, that they are altogether remiss and negligent in guarding them. He knew, likewise, that places are often taken by assault in the very parts that are the strongest, and against

which it was most improbable that an enemy would make any attempt. Agreeably to these sentiments, having now considered that the strength of Sardes was such that all men had despaired of being able to take it by assault, and hoped only that it might be at last subdued by famine; he was the more encouraged by this very reason to make the attempt; and turned his thoughts on every side, in order to find some fair occasion of rendering himself master of the place. And having remarked that the wall which connected the citadel with the city was not guarded, he conceived the hope that in that very part he should be able to accomplish his design. That this part was destitute of guards, he thus discovered. The wall was built upon a very lofty rock; and at the bottom of the precipice was a hollow valley, into which the carcasses of the horses and beasts of burthen were thrown, that died within the city. In this valley large flocks of vultures, and other birds of prey, were continually assembled. And as the birds, when they were satiated with food, constantly reposed themselves upon the top of the precipice, and upon the wall, Lagoras concluded from this circumstance that the wall was certainly not guarded, but was at almost all times destitute of people. When he had formed this conjecture he went himself by night, and carefully examined in

what part he might make his approaches, and fix the ladders. And having found, on the side of one of the rocks, a place that was proper for the purpose, he then communicated his project to the king. Antiochus conceived great hopes, and entreated him to accomplish the design. Lagoras on his part promised to employ his utmost power; but desired that Theodotus the Ætolian, and Dionysius, the captain of the guards, each of whom possessed all the strength and courage which an enterprise of this kind required, might be associated with him in the undertaking, and commanded to assist in the execution of it. To this the king immediately consented; and these three together, having regulated their plan in secret, waited for a night, in the latter part of which there would be no moon. When such a night was come, on the evening before the day in which the attempt was to be made, they chose from the whole army fifteen men, the most distinguished by their strength and courage, to carry the ladders, and to share with themselves the danger of mounting the walls. After these they took thirty more, who were directed to lie in ambuscade at a certain distance; and, when the first should have scaled the walls, and descended to the gate that was near, to advance from their concealment, and to cut through the bars and hinges of the gate from without, while the rest broke the

locks and the bolts on the inside. Behind these followed another body of two thousand men; who were ordered to enter the city with the rest, and to take possession of the circus of the theatre, which commanded both the citadel and the city. And that no suspicion of the truth might arise from making these detachments, a report was spread that a body of Ætolians designed to throw themselves through the valley before mentioned into the city; and that, as notice had been received of their design these forces were prepared to oppose their entrance.

When all things were now ready, as soon as the moon had withdrawn her light, Lagoras and the rest approached the precipices with their ladders, and concealed themselves under the brow of the rock that hung over the valley. When day appeared, and the guards on this side had retired; while the king, according to his custom, sent one part of his troops to their respective posts, and drew out the rest in order of battle in the Hippodrome, the attempt remained for some time unnoticed. But no sooner were two ladders raised, upon one of which Dionysius first mounted, and Lagoras upon the other, than a great commotion and disorder was spread through all the camp. For though neither the garrison in the city, nor Achæus himself, who was in the citadel, discerned the men that were attempting to scale

the walls, because they were covered by the brow of the rock; those that were in the camp very clearly saw the whole of this bold and dangerous action. And while some were struck with admiration at an attempt that appeared incredible; and others foresaw, but were doubtful of the consequence: they stood fixed in suspense, and with an anxiety mingled with joy, expected the event. The king, perceiving this commotion, and being willing to draw aside the attention both of his own troops and of the besieged from what was done, led out the army, and advanced towards the gate that was on the opposite side of the city, and was called the gate of Persis. Achæus, perceiving from the citadel this motion of the enemy, so different from any which they had before been used to make, was thrown into great perplexity, and knew not what was their design. He sent some forces, however, towards the gate. But as the road by which they descended from the citadel was narrow, and full of precipices, they arrived too late. Aribazus also, who commanded in the city, and who suspected nothing of the real truth, led the garrison to the same gate, likewise, which Antiochus threatened to attack. And having stationed one part of his forces on the walls, he ordered the rest to advance while one part killed all those that they met,

through the gate, to stop the enemy as they approached, and to engage them in battle. In the mean time, Lagoras, Dionysius, and Theodotus, having gained the summit of the rock, and descended from thence to the gate that was below, dispersed those that they met, and began to break the gate. The thirty also on the outside at the same time advanced, and assisted in breaking it. And when the gate was in this manner soon forced open, the two thousand men that had stood ready for that purpose, entered and took possession of the circus. As soon as this was perceived, the forces that had been stationed upon the walls, and those that were sent through the gate of Persis, by Aribazus, returned back again in haste, to attack those that had entered the city. But, as the gate was opened for their return, some of the troops of Antiochus entered together with them: and having thus made themselves masters of this gate likewise, they then ran to break the rest of the gates that were near. Aribazus and all the garrison, after a short engagement with those that were already within the city, fled hastily into the citadel. Theodotus and Lagoras, remaining still in their first station, with great prudence attended to all that passed. The rest of the army, entering now on every side, were soon masters of the place. And

others set fire to the houses, or dispersed themselves in search of plunder, till the whole city was pillaged and destroyed. In this manner Antiochus became master of Sardes.

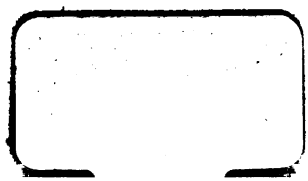
END OF VOL. II.

Printed by S. Hamilton, Weybridge.

THE NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY
REFERENCE DEPARTMENT

This book is under no circumstances to be taken from the Building

JAN 16 19		
JUL 15 1915	APR 1	
AUG 15 1916	AUG 3 - 1917	
AUG 1	AUG	
AUG 1		
	JUL 1 - 19	
	1/16/21	
APR 5		

form 410

B D JAN 1 6 1915